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USSR Report

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PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 1, Jan-Feb 1985

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9 August 1985

USSR REPORT
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA
No 1, JAN-FEB 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA
No 1, January-February 1985

Russian title : NARODY AZII I AFRIKI

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : A. A. Kutsenkov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo Nauka

Place of publication : Moscow

Date of publication : January-February 1985

Signed to press : 7 January 1985

Copies : 3,720

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy
literatury, 1985

ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 219-221

[Text] Experience and Perspectives of African Problems' Study

An. A. Gromyko

The article of the director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences reviews briefly the 25 years of the institute's history since its inception. It summarizes the research work carried out by the institute's staff over this period in the field of African politics, economy, history and culture and characterizes the forthcoming academic publications. The article also deals with the international ties of the institute.

Social Structures of Developing Countries and Institutional and Sociological Conceptions of Their Development

V. A. Zarin

The analysis of the social and economic problems of liberated countries has been acquiring recently an inter-disciplinary nature in an ever growing degree. One can distinguish two major trends in the non-Soviet studies, which are the most active in dealing with conceptions of modernization of developing countries, that is the macro-sociology and the institutional economic theory. In the West there has emerged a broadly applied trend of economic and social studies, which is most aptly defined by the term "institutionalism." Within the framework of this trend the distinction between economists, sociologists and politologists is based upon the choice of one of these subsystems as a fundamental element in their models of evolution.

The article offers a critical analysis of the institutional views of the leading scholars of this trend.

Histadrut in System of State and Monopoly Capitalism in Israel

L. Ya. Dadiani

The article demonstrates that counter to the Zionist statements the Israeli trade unions have nothing to do with Socialism. As a matter of fact, they

represent an element of the state and monopoly capitalism, which today is a dominating structure in Israel.

The article goes into the history of Histadrut, the largest trade union of this country. It shows that the elite of Histadrut is closely associated with the ruling circles, Zionist ideology and political practice. The article points out that the leadership of Histadrut takes an active part in the anti-Arab policy and neo-colonialist actions of Tel-Aviv, in the activity of the military and industrial complex. It also highlights the support of the Histadrut's leaders to the reactionary policy of the Israeli ruling classes at home. The article notes that the progressive forces of Israel, the communists and democrats work for the transformation of the trade unions into an organization, which would genuinely uphold the toilers' interests.

Liberal and Bourgeois Intelligentsia and Formation of Ideology of Expansion in Japan (Second Half of 19th Century)

Ye. V. Shchetinina

The article examines the specific features of the capitalist evolution in Japan. It demonstrates that the low level of the industrial capital development, widespread state protectionism and feudal left-overs are responsible for the weakness of liberal bourgeoisie. These factors account for its proneness to compromise with the ruling bureaucracy and the nobility.

The fact that, historically, intelligentsia borrowed its rank and file from the stratum of the lowest samurai, as did the ruling bureaucracy, determined its eclectic nature and ideological inconsistency.

During the transition to the capitalist development in the post-Meiji period the liberal opposition combined a relatively radical stand on the issue of constitutional reforms with virtually fully solidarizing with the ruling bureaucracy in the appeal for external expansionism. The article shows that even the most prominent Japanese educationalists failed to oppose the pressure of nationalism and Japanese ethnocentrism.

From the 1880's onward the liberal bourgeoisie had been tending to justify the expansionist drive of the ruling circles. After the Japanese invasion of China in 1894 the liberal bourgeoisie had practically joined the state bureaucracy and the military circles in fanning the sentiments of jingoism.

The ideological substantiation of the need the "justified nature" of the expansionism in Asia and the subjugation of adjacent peoples has made it more facile to the ruling circles to prepare and implement the aggression against the neighboring countries.

Doctrine of State Power and Political Practice in Medieval China

S. N. Goncharov

Having been defeated by the Churichen state of Chin (1115-1234), the Chinese Empire of Southern Sung (1127-1269) had to conclude a peace treaty

with the former. According to this treaty, the Empire lost vast territories of the Northern China and the Chinese Emperor was acknowledged as a "subject" of the Churcheu Emperor. This fact could not be but in stark contradiction with the traditional ideology of the Chinese Empire, which treated its neighbors exclusively as "barbarians" obliged to pay "tribute" to the Chinese Emperor. The article attempts to ascertain the mechanism through which the ideology of the "Chinese universal monarchy" was adapted to this state of affairs in the realm of foreign policy.

The article is based on the historical chronicles of the Sung period and also on such works of the 12th century, as "Collected Works" (Wen Chin) and "Miscellany Bichi." The analysis of these sources allows to reach the conclusion that the Sung statesmen tried their utmost to preserve by all means the main categories of the doctrine of "universal monarchy" in order to substantiate the rule of the Chinese Emperor within the country.

At time, the Sung statesmen had to distort in a big way these categories. In the field of foreign policy the doctrine of "universal monarchy" did not work. It was replaced by the norms of interstate relationship based on equality. This kind of relationship was practiced in China as far back as "Spring and Autumn--Warring States" period (722-221 BC). On the strength of the evidence presented the article suggests that the foreign policy doctrines of the Chinese Empire were not merely confined to the theory of "universalism." The Chinese tradition did admit, both in the ancient and the medieval periods, the existence of equal relationship based on treaties.

Notions of Individual in Traditional Masai Society

K. L. Tatarinova

The article probes into the idea of Masais, a cattle-breeding people inhabiting the bordering area of Kenya and Tanzania, of an individual belonging to Masais and their notion of other peoples.

The article demonstrates that the Masais' attitude to other peoples depends on the latter's economy (they treat cattle-breeders as their equals, considering themselves as *primus inter pares*; they are hostile to cultivators and artisans and despise them).

The system of age groups and the labor division as to sex and age played a prominent role in the pre-class Masai society. These factors determined the social life. They also laid down standards of behavior. These standards changed along with the transition to other age groups. Boys and girls, when they are under age, are judged by their personal merits. Once they are of age, these characteristics are no longer taken into account.

According to the dominant role of the male, his stereotype is more developed and diversified in terms of age and social standing as compared to that of a female. A certain contradiction arises, however, in this regard. The stereotype of a girl is characterized by a greater combination of personal and socially motivated traits than that of a boy.

The article notes that in the transition society, which is to become a class one (the traditional Masai society is a case in point), the notion of an "individual" and that of a "social subject," as used by A. A. Leontiev, are closely related. The traits, which were at variance with the stereotype of an individual were suppressed, the other were of marginal importance. Hence, the article suggests that there is no individual as such in the pre-class society at its early stages of evolution. Along with the social evolution the individual acquired new characteristics, which enriched the old stereotype. In the first place, this regards those who distinguished themselves by performing certain social functions.

Second World War and Countries of Maghreb

R. G. Landa

The article deals with the social and political situation in Maghreb on the eve and during the Second World War. It analyzes the factors which were responsible for the growing rivalry of France, Germany, Italy, England, Spain and the USA over Maghreb. It examines the tactical operations in the Northern Africa from June 1940 to May 1943 and their impact upon the strategical, economic and political situation in Maghreb and the Mediterranean. The article demonstrates the importance of Maghreb during the Second World War and the incomparability of the developments in the Northern Africa to those in the Soviet-German front. It is the author's contention that the radical change in the world of Maghreb politics bears direct relation to the Soviet victories over the fascist army. It was also the enhancing revolutionary sentiments of the people of Maghreb and their involvement into the military and political struggle that induced that change.

The fact that these countries became less closely related to France and Italy and the war was waged in their territory has left its imprint upon the overall situation. The far-reaching economic, social and political changes, which had occurred during the war, account for the headway made by the people of Maghreb in the post-war period in their struggle for independence.

Prospects of Capitalism in Developing World

Soviet scholars of various research and educational establishments discuss the nature, specific features and prospects of capitalism in the developing nations of Asia and Africa. In the present-day context these problems are of great theoretical and practical importance. The position of these states on this issue varies depending on their choice of social and economic orientation, that is either revolutionary and democratic, or capitalist one.

The scholars examine the negative aspects, which characterize in the main the capitalist development in Afro-Asian countries. "The degradation of capitalist forms" is a distinctive feature of the situation in the developing world. It is emphasized that the diminishing of the scope of capitalist influence, which is taking place in the world economy and politics, is also occurring in the Afro-Asian countries. The fact that, historically, capitalism has no future is a cardinal factor in assessing the prospects of capitalism in the developing world.

On Formation Characteristics of Colonial Economic Structure

Yu. M. Ivanov

The article argues that in the colonial period the economic structure of Tropical Africa was largely a capitalist one. Its elements were not a disintegrated whole of capitalist and pre-capitalist structures. They constituted an integrated economic body serving the purposes of financial capital accumulation.

It was distinguished by the fact that the capital functioned in the context of an underdeveloped commodity-money relations. Therefore, prior to the Second World War the leading position in the large-scale and small-scale commodity production was occupied not by various forms of hired labour but corvee, which is typical of the feudal formation. At the same time, both large scale and small scale market production possessed as their attributes regions, where subsistence agriculture and feudal relations predominated. These regions were an important factor of an accelerated accumulation, for they subsidized the reproduction of the labour which took to the centres, where commodity production was concentrated.

In conditions of underdeveloped commodity-money relations the capitalist nature of market production became manifest rather through the fact that existing enterprises were links in the chain of capital reproduction of the colonial power, than through the entrepreneur labour relationship. In other words, the medieval forms of capital functioning of the capitalist mode of production were possible only due to the fact that this capital was linked to the financial capital of the "centre," which was at the highest stage of capitalist development.

The article concludes that today the survivals of the medieval period are still there mainly because the dominating position is occupied by the capital. Therefore, they cannot be done with within a historically short space of time, unless the relations of capitalist property are radically modified.

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CSO: 1812/214-E

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Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) p 218

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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CSO: 1807/280

AFRICA INSTITUTE VIEWS PAST, FUTURE TASKS ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 3-12

[Article by An. A. Gromyko: "Past and Future African Research Projects"; article based on report presented by author at Fourth World Conference of African Scholars (October 1984)]

[Text] The 25th anniversary of the founding of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, was celebrated in October 1984. This served as an occasion to summarize and analyze past accomplishments and to set future objectives. The latter is particularly important now that the Communist Party has charged the social sciences with new tasks of great scope and importance at this time of increased international tension during the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The Soviet Union's many African scholars feel it is their duty to concentrate on the most important and crucial scientific topics and to strive for the even fuller use of the creative potential of Soviet African studies and the even closer coordination of scientific research and practice.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium K. U. Chernenko has stressed that "solidarity with the people who have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and have set out on the road of independent development has always been one of the bases of the foreign policy of our party and the Soviet Government. This is particularly true of the people who have to repulse the attacks of imperialism's aggressive forces as they create extremely dangerous centers of bloody violence and military holocausts in various parts of the world."¹ The scientific studies of Soviet African scholars have definitely contributed to the reinforcement of this solidarity.

The decree of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium of 2 October 1959 on the establishment of the Africa Institute, the main scientific center for the comprehensive study of African affairs, was quite timely. It was passed just before the beginning of the "Year of Africa," a year marking the turning point in the struggle for the continent's complete liberation from colonialism.

In our country, African studies were conducted long before the institute was established. Using the achievements of prerevolutionary Russian studies of

Africa as a basis, Soviet scholars consistently broadened the range of studies of the African people's past and present: studies of their languages, cultures, ethnography and history. Many other topics were also studied, and a particularly important contribution to African studies was made by Academician N. I. Vavilov, who proved that Africa was the earliest source of several agricultural crops. In the 1920's and 1930's our country's scholars began to pay closer attention to various aspects of imperialism's colonial policy in Africa and to analyses of the current problems and developmental prospects of the national liberation and workers movement on the continent.

The thorough study of Ethiopian, Arab and Egyptian affairs continued after the Great Patriotic War. The establishment of the African Sector in the Ethnography Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1946), the Department of African Languages at Leningrad State University (1954) and the Africa Division of the Oriental Studies Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences (1956), had an important stimulating effect in the development of Soviet African studies.

In the 1960's, after the Africa Institute had been founded, the development of the study of this continent in the USSR was distinguished by a broader range of subject matter and more thorough research, particularly in the case of such pertinent topics as the consolidation of the political independence of young African states, the struggle for economic independence and Soviet-African relations. The rapid development of the latter gave Soviet specialists an opportunity to work directly in the African countries, helping to make their studies more thorough and more specific and contributing to the closer coordination of research and practice.

Professor Ivan Izosimovich Potekhin (1903-1964), a prominent and enthusiastic Soviet African scholar, played an outstanding role in the establishment of the Africa Institute and the organization of its work. He wrote several works ("Formirovaniye natsional'noy obshchnosti bantu" [Origins of the Bantu Ethnic Community], "Afrika smotrit v budushcheye" [Africa Looks into the Future], "Stanovleniye novoy Gany" [The Establishment of the New Ghana] and others) which can rightfully be described as innovative with respect to his assessment of the developmental prospects of African peoples and states. At his suggestion, the institute also began to conduct more comprehensive economic research. I. I. Potekhin did much to organize the institute's active and productive cooperation with practical agencies.

New sectors for the study of international relations, ideology and social relations were added to the Africa Institute in the second half of the 1960's and the early 1970's. After I. I. Potekhin's death in 1964, the institute was headed by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. G. Solodovnikov. Special attention was given to more thorough studies of economic affairs and of individual countries. The institute researchers began to study the important and complex topics of socialist orientation and Soviet-African relations.

The move toward increasingly comprehensive studies is still characteristic of the institute. The institute has acquired new sectors and groups for the study of monetary, agrarian and religious issues, cultural construction and

the workers movement. Sectors for the study of ideology and political organizations and for the criticism of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism were founded after the African continent became the scene and object of an ideological struggle in which imperialist propaganda was actively involved. The unification of sectors related by research subject matter in larger units--divisions--was an important change in the institute structure and contributed to the better coordination of scientific studies and, what is most important, the integration of research findings.

The many years of institute activity have corroborated the effectiveness of the comprehensive approach to African studies, in which a single scientific establishment simultaneously studies economic, ideological, social, political, cultural and other processes and then compares and integrates research findings. This approach is essential because society represents a complex integral system--that is, "a group of objects whose interaction presupposes the existence of integral qualities not inherent in its separate parts or elements."² If various phenomena, aspects and elements of the social life of a state, not to mention of several states, are studied in isolation from one another, and if the results of these studies, which are extremely important from the standpoint of overall assessments, are not combined, its integral qualities will remain a mystery. The comprehensive method, on the other hand, allows for the fuller disclosure of specific national features and the investigation of socioeconomic and political processes not separately, but from the standpoint of their interaction. This method produces more objective results, and these are useful in practice.

The activities of institute researchers during the past quarter of a century are reflected to a considerable extent in their scientific publications. Between 1959 and 1984, 650 books and brochures were published. The institute has recently published 15-20 monographs (up to 250 printer's sheets) and approximately the same number of mimeographed editions a year. The quality of these scientific products is constantly improving.

Institute researchers are well aware that the main purpose of their scientific investigations and all of their research is the preparation of thorough works capable of serving as the basis for scientific forecasts and sound recommendations for practical agencies. We are always pleased when our conclusions are also useful to our African friends.

It is no secret that the description of scientific works as thorough does not depend on the number of printer's sheets, but on bold investigations of new and pertinent topics, the ability to view the connections between events and their contradictory dialectical development and the thorough analysis of current events "with a greater emphasis on their future implications," which Soviet researchers were instructed to do by the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

In view of the comprehensive nature of the majority of key problems in the social development of African countries, their study presupposes the concerted efforts of experts in various fields. The institute now has researchers specializing in the economics, politics, ideology, sociology, history and

culture of African countries and they are capable of conducting massive research projects.

One example of this kind of project is the collective work "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Afrika" [Great October and Africa] (Moscow, 1980), showing how the socialist revolution in Russia and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union strongly influenced the development of African countries, and not by exporting revolution, as bourgeois propaganda has falsely alleged, but by setting an example, by giving the emerging countries and peoples effective assistance and by consistently defending peace and fighting against the policy of aggression, imperialist intervention in internal affairs and the export of counterrevolution. Soviet foreign policy is based on the Marxist premise that revolution is the internal affair of each nation. It has consistently defended the right of peoples and states to choose their own social order and has therefore repudiated any kind of outside intervention whatsoever. This idea is present throughout the book "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Afrika" and other works dealing with this subject matter. Another example of a comprehensive project is the collective work "Afrika: problemy sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [Africa: Problems of Socialist Orientation] (Moscow, 1976). This form of social progress, which is new to Africa as well as to many emerging countries, is examined jointly by specialists in such fields as scientific communism, the history and economics of developing countries, government law and others. Several of the scientific assumptions first formulated in this work have been acknowledged and amplified in many works by Soviet and foreign authors and, what is most important, have been confirmed by actual events.

Another major collective project entails the preparation of the second edition of the "Africa" encyclopaedia, which will be supplemented considerably in comparison to the first edition (1963) with a view to new data collected in the liberal arts and natural sciences. To some extent, this work will sum up the results of the study of this continent by researchers of the Africa Institute and of other scientific establishments.

The institute makes changes in its research plans in accordance with current events. The publication of a series of reference works on individual African countries represents a tried and tested form of comprehensive research. Since 1976, 12 such works have been published, describing the historical, economic, political, legal, cultural and other aspects of life in different countries of the continent.

The comprehensive nature of institute projects has allowed for the formulation of several new and important theories of fundamental scientific and practical value. These theories have been used in the compilation of plans and foreign policy documents by the CPSU and Soviet Government. Many of them have also won recognition in fraternal socialist countries and in African states with revolutionary-democratic regimes.

The theory of socialist orientation occupies a special place among these theories. In recent years institute researchers have analyzed the following aspects of this topic:

1. The place occupied by socialist orientation in the world revolutionary process (in the monograph "Afrika: strany sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii v revolyutsionnom protsesse" [Africa: Social-Oriented Countries in the Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1984).
2. Economic reform during the phase of socialist orientation (in the work "Sotsialisticheskaya orientatsiya osvobodivshikhsya stran" [Socialist Orientation of Emerging Countries], Moscow, 1982); the editing of the monograph "Stanovleniye natsional'noy ekonomiki v usloviyakh stran sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [Establishment of the National Economy in Socialist-Oriented Countries] is being completed.
3. The evolution of revolutionary-democratic vanguard parties into vanguard labor parties.

Marxism-Leninism's influence in Africa is growing stronger. More and more countries are now considering a move toward socialist construction rather than simple socialist orientation. It is true that this will entail major difficulties connected with economic underdevelopment and the subversive activity of imperialism and local reactionary forces frightened by socialism and social progress.

Obviously, radical progressive social reform in Africa will require a lengthy transition period. This is due to the heightened sociopolitical tension in many countries in this part of the world. An analysis of current processes in socialist-oriented countries indicates that the African states will not automatically copy existing socialist models and that various alternative means of making the transition to socialism, with a view to specifically African conditions, will be unavoidable. Conflicts between national-liberation forces and imperialism will grow more acute, and cooperation between the countries of this continent and the socialist world will undergo further development, but this development will be possible only under the conditions of a fierce and victorious struggle against imperialism and reactionary forces.

A recent work, "Politicheskiye partii Afriki" [African Political Parties] (Moscow, 1984), is based on a system devised by institute researchers for the categorization of African parties. This publication combines the features of a monograph and a reference work, and the system of categorization suggested by its authors is being used in the USSR and abroad.

The institute economic sector conducts Marxist analyses of the state of the economy in African countries and publishes logical scientific criticism of some foreign theories about the economic development of African countries. The series "Productive Forces in the African Countries," six volumes of which have already been published, is of indisputable practical value.

Investigative works include the monograph "Narody Afriki" [Peoples of Africa] (Moscow, 1954) and "Iskusstvo narodov Afriki" [The Art of the African Peoples] (Moscow, 1975). The latter is one of the first attempts in world literature at a comprehensive study of this topic.

All of the work on the theory of ethnic processes has progressed considerably.

In addition to conducting comprehensive research, the Africa Institute is also working in specific fields of science.

In the field of economics, researchers have concentrated on the Marxist theory regarding ways of surmounting economic underdevelopment in African countries. Detailed and specific studies of the state of productive forces in Africa are needed for the correct assessment of the nature of production relations and the analysis of economic processes on the continent. Institute economists have accumulated extensive experience in analyzing the sectorial structures of economies and problems in the development of specific spheres of the economy on the national and regional levels. In the six-volume series "Productive Forces in the African Countries," a great deal of statistical and documented information is summarized and distinctive features in the development of major national economic spheres and the growth of labor resources are revealed.

The institute staff is continuing to work on the theory of the comprehensive development of productive forces and the efficient use of resources under the specific conditions of the continent with a view to worldwide tendencies connected with the technological revolution. The thorough statistical handbook "Afrika v tsifrakh" [African Statistics], prepared by the institute, is of definite help in this work.

Studies of the socioeconomic structure of African countries, particularly such aspects as the evolution of traditional social economic structures, the development of capitalist forms of economic management, the assessment of the role of foreign capital in the economy and the establishment and role of the national state sector, will be particularly important in further investigations of ways of surmounting underdevelopment.

In view of the importance of agrarian and peasant issues in the African countries, institute researchers have always been interested in rural Africa. The latest tendencies in agricultural development and the agrarian policy of countries with differing sociopolitical orientations are analyzed in one of the latest works dealing with this subject matter--the collective work "Agrarnyye preobrazovaniya v stranakh Afriki na sovremennom etape" [Contemporary Agrarian Reforms in the African Countries] (Moscow, 1982).

The role and place of foreign capital in the economies of African countries, the forms of its economic expansion and its exploitative nature are examined in many institute works. They substantiate the conclusion that the effective use of foreign capital can be secured only by its consistent subordination to national interests, especially the economy's need for structural reform and the maximum mobilization of national natural and labor resources for the attainment of development goals.

The state sector of the economy is the only tangible force capable of successfully withstanding the expansion of foreign capital and the uncontrollable

effects of private enterprise. The establishment and functioning of the state sector have been analyzed in detail in works by institute researchers, and the nature of state property and its sectorial and organizational structures have been described. Although the authors of these works take note of the general progressive nature of the state sector, they also point out the radical differences stemming from the sociopolitical orientation of states.

Economic planning and methods of national economic regulation are important topics of economic research. Studies resulting from the current development of a new research field, the study of financial and credit mechanisms in independent African countries, have been useful. The effects of inflation on economic development and the methods of combating it are also being analyzed.

A distinctive feature of the African economies is their exceptionally pronounced dependence on external factors: deliveries of modern technology, foreign technical assistance and financial resources, conditions for the sale of their products in world markets, etc. This is why analyses of the foreign economic ties of African countries have traditionally occupied an important place in economic research.

It is understandable that attention is focused on the development of more effective mutually beneficial and equitable Soviet-African cooperation, on its basic tendencies, forms and methods, on problems in the African countries' economic ties with industrially developed capitalist states and the imperialist nature of the latter's "aid," and on the distinctive features of inter-African economic relations and integration processes on the continent. A monograph on the struggle of the African countries for the new world economic order has been prepared for publication.

The current stage in the development of world politics and economics is distinguished by the appearance and intensification of qualitatively new global problems. Works by institute researchers represent the first attempt in Soviet literature to analyze the influence of global problems on the economies of developing African countries. The "population explosion" in Africa, the food and energy crises, the ecological situation and the influence of the technological revolution are being studied. Special attention is being given to the pernicious effects of imperialist militarism and the arms race on the countries of this continent.

Institute researchers are studying the foreign policy line and international position of African countries. They are concentrating on Soviet-African relations. The monograph "SSSR i strany Afriki: sotrudnichestvo, podderzhka antiimperialisticheskoy bor'by" [The USSR and the African Countries: Cooperation and the Support of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle] was published in 1977, for example, and "Sovetsko-afrikanskiye otnosheniya" [Soviet-African Relations] was published in 1982. The latter describes the Soviet Union's expanding ties with African states and the extensive political, diplomatic and other forms of assistance it has given these states.

The African continent, which consists of more than 50 young independent countries, has introduced many new elements into the practice of

intergovernmental relations. A work published in 1983, "Aktual'nyye problemy mezhafrikanskikh otnosheniy" [Current Issues in Inter-African Relations], analyzes these relations as a new form of cooperation and, unfortunately, sometimes as a source of conflict, with the aid of Marxist-Leninist methods for the first time.

In today's tense atmosphere, the study and disclosure of the policy of imperialist powers in Africa are particularly important. This was the purpose, for example, of the monograph "Belyy dom i Chernyy kontinent" [The White House and the Black Continent] (Moscow, 1984). The Reagan Administration's expansionist and militarist treatment of the African countries is analyzed in this work on the basis of thoroughly documented information. It is precisely the policy of imperialism, and especially the American variety, that is the main cause of the mounting instability and domestic political tension in the countries of the African continent. The escalation of international tension by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, especially American ones, has had an extremely negative effect on the African countries. The actions of the American administration are intended to have a destabilizing effect throughout the world. All of the developing countries, including African states, are suffering from this aggressive policy. We should not forget, for example, that American missiles can reach the territory of virtually all of the countries of North Africa and some states in the Middle East from the Italian base in Comiso. The web of military bases covering the entire developing world already allows the United States to train its sights on any "undesirable" state. The creation of a central command (CENTCOM) and the notorious "rapid deployment force" was intended, according to the plans of Washington strategists, to tighten the noose around the neck of any African country with a policy not to the liking of the United States "when-ever necessary." In light of this, the mounting struggle against imperialist policy, against the danger of war and against the arms race in the countries of the African continent is understandable.

The racist policy of South Africa and the apartheid regime's strong bonds with imperialist powers are an object of special and constant concern for the institute. Institute researchers have analyzed the policy of the imperialist powers in relations with South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (now independent Zimbabwe). Research has begun on a little-studied topic--Japan's policy in Africa. The most important aspects of the relations of West European states, especially EEC members, with African countries are being analyzed.

The institute has continued to study the role of ideology in various African societies. Books published in recent years include "Ideologiya revolyutsionnykh demokratov Afriki" [Ideology of African Revolutionary Democrats] (Moscow, 1981), "Natsionalizm v sovremennoy Afrike" [Nationalism in Present-Day Africa] (Moscow, 1983) and "Formirovaniye ideyno-politicheskoy strategii v afrikanskikh stranakh sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [The Development of Ideological-Political Strategy in Socialist-Oriented African Countries], in which the most important ideological currents on the continent are described. The monograph "Rasprostraneniye marksizma-leninizma v Afrike" [The Spread of Marxism-Leninism Throughout Africa] is being prepared for publication. These works describe the difficult and persistent struggle

of progressive Africans in their gradual advancement from pan-Africanism through anti-imperialist nationalism and the revolutionary-democratic ideology to Marxism-Leninism.

The analysis of processes of social development is known to require a concrete historical approach. This approach is characteristic of the studies of African history conducted by the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. As a rule, these studies have been comprehensive: The internal evolution of African countries and peoples (during periods of modern and contemporary history), the processes of the establishment and decline of colonial societies, the development of national liberation movements and the struggle for political independence and for social and economic liberation have been researched. Around 50 of the approximately 300 books on African history published between 1979 and 1983 in the USSR and abroad were written by Soviet authors.

The historical works of institute researchers are based on new groups of sources, including archival documents, and this gives them a more solid foundation. Accumulated experience allowed the institute to begin the publication of the extensive series of books about specific countries--"The History of the African Countries."

The existing scientific "reserve" establishes the prerequisites for the more thorough and detailed study of such important topics as the specific periods of African history, the general and specific features in the historical development of African peoples, the categorization of national liberation movements and the formation of African nationalities. Future historical studies will be conducted in the institute on the basis of a sound combination of national subject matter and integrated information. The Soviet reader will continue to be informed of the economic, social and political history of specific African countries and of their contribution to the riches of world culture.

Imperialism and reactionary forces within the African states are making every effort to make use of culture in their own interest as one sphere for the spread of bourgeois ideas and theories. These ideas and theories have been exposed in many works by Soviet African scholars. The role and place of culture in social development, cultural uniqueness, the traditional cultural heritage and its significance under present conditions, culture in general and its specific spheres (education, the mass media, art and others) and the foreign influence on the cultures of African countries are the main research topics of recent years. Institute scholars are now analyzing the complex process of the development of ethnic cultures, their reciprocal influence, their variety of contacts with the major world civilizations from ancient times to the present day, forms of mass culture and the forms and methods of outside influence on the cultural development of today's African states.

The current world situation necessitates the maximal coordination of scientific research, particularly in the field of Soviet-American relations, with international subject matter and with practical needs. The inadequate connection between economic research and practice was seriously criticized at

the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum; it was also mentioned in several other recent party documents. The staff of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, is drawing all of the necessary conclusions from this.

The role of scientific research in the social sciences has also been enhanced considerably by the escalation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. Imperialist propaganda frequently tries to speculate on the world public's lack of information about various aspects--economic, political and cultural--of African life and Soviet-African relations. The repudiation of these hostile and subversive efforts and the cogent demonstration of their groundlessness or tendentiousness will require new data, which can and must be provided by various fields of science. Criticism of bourgeois theories of social development can only be effective and convincing when it is conducted from the standpoints of political economy, scientific communism, historical materialism, international law and other sciences.

The comprehensive nature of scientific research presupposes the institute's cooperation with related scientific centers in the Soviet Union, with African scholars and with scholars from socialist and capitalist states. In the 1960's and 1970's the USSR Academy of Sciences organized expeditions (Nubian, Somali and Malian) and invited African specialists to join them. Preparations are now being made for a comprehensive expedition by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Madagascar Academy of Sciences in that country. Soviet researchers attend international conferences on African affairs and organize Soviet-African scientific conferences. The first such conference ("For Peace and Social Progress," Moscow, 1982) was attended by scholars from 25 African countries. The conference provided an opportunity to compare the views of Soviet and African researchers and had great political repercussions. Preparations are now being made for a second Soviet-African conference.

The institute is working with African researchers in the preparation of joint works, particularly the "General History of Africa" (a UNESCO project). Joint works have reflected the successes and the difficulties experienced by young states and have summarized the experience of African countries in surmounting these difficulties.

Soviet scholars maintain close contacts with scholars in the socialist countries. The academies of sciences in socialist countries have formed working groups to study African foreign policy, history, national liberation movements and ideological issues and the economic relations between CEMA countries and Africa. Anthologies and monographs dealing with this subject matter are being published jointly and scientific conferences are being held.

The use of new methods is producing more thorough analytical research and is solving specific problems encountered by institute researchers. Mathematical methods have been developed for the study of economic and social processes in the African countries. For example, an economic-mathematical model has been devised to analyze the state of the economy in the countries of the continent despite the inadequate information about these countries. The results of computer calculations using this model have been employed in works on self-generating systems and global problems. Methods of forecasting the socioeconomic development of African countries have been developed.

We attach great significance to the publication of our research findings in the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, the main analytical organ of Soviet Oriental and African scholars. Institute researchers have been cooperating more closely and effectively with the journal in the past few years, but there are still many unutilized opportunities in this area.

Soviet scholars counter the reactionary theories of bourgeois authors with the Marxist theory of social development, in which the prospects for progress in the African countries are closely related to the struggle to stop the wasteful arms race and the escalation of international tension and the struggle for the radical reform of international economic relations on a democratic basis.

As the materials of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed, however, "the communists' inherently optimistic view of mankind's future cannot be based on an oversimplified and excessively rigid interpretation of historical progress."³ The dramatic increase in international tension as a result of the escalation of an arms race of unprecedented scales and the intensification of the foreign policy aggression of the United States and its NATO allies are creating an extremely dangerous atmosphere in the developing world. The Reagan Administration is striving to block all tendencies with any kind of progressive implications in the socioeconomic development of emerging countries, frequently resorting to acts of economic blackmail and outright aggression and intervention. The state of the economy in the developing countries, including African states, has deteriorated considerably now that imperialism is trying to make them shoulder much of the burden of the economic crisis that has stricken the capitalist economy. The thorough scientific analysis of problems of war and peace and ways of repulsing imperialism's intrigues in the African countries is one of the vital and primary objectives of Soviet African scholars.

The researchers of the Africa Institute realize that the continued elevation of the ideological and analytical standards of scientific research and efforts to make research more thorough and sound and to enhance its impact and its practical value are particularly necessary at the present time.

The continued analysis of the development strategy in newly liberated countries warrants serious consideration. The opponents of the theory and practice of socialist orientation and socialist construction in Africa have recently stepped up their counterattacks. Obviously, the theory of socialist orientation must be amplified, the optimal means of its implementation in specific African countries must be analyzed, and certain analytical premises and practical conclusions must be clarified on this basis. What might be called a new "model for the mid-1980's," taking the possibilities and dangers of the approach to the elaboration of a strategy of social and economic development in newly liberated countries into account, is now essential.

It is no secret that colossal difficulties of a political, economic, domestic and foreign nature are now inhibiting African development. Today, however, when we look 10 or 20 years into the future, we believe that the long-range interests of social progress in African countries can be secured only in an

atmosphere of peace and by means of progressive socioeconomic reforms combined with consistent efforts to maximize the productive forces of these countries and utilize scientific and technical achievements for development purposes. The new international economic order is as necessary to developing countries as the air they breathe. Without it, they could simply suffocate in the quagmire of neocolonial exploitation and dependent development that has doomed hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America to starvation and poverty.

The pages of the world press have recently been filled with alarming articles about the state of the economy in developing countries, including African states, and countless attempts to reveal the reasons for the continuing destitution of hundreds of millions of Africans, Asians and Latin Americans. These attempts will continue until the anomaly has been removed from the emerging countries' relations with the world of capital and exploitation.

We can make the following comments in this connection. First of all, imperialism's counteroffensive against the political independence and sovereignty of developing countries is now being rationalized to a considerable extent with the mythical "inability" of the latter to solve development problems effectively and in their own national interest. Secondly, imperialism is casting doubts--or, more precisely, trying to impose something like a "taboo"--on genuine social progress, particularly all advancements in the direction of socialism. Finally and thirdly, particularly persistent attempts have been made to break through the weak but undeniable united front of developing countries striving to escape the fetters of age-old underdevelopment and create favorable conditions for the social and economic development of their people. All of this testifies that imperialist strategists intend to carry out the long-term exploitation of the "Third World" on a neocolonial basis. For this purpose, they are feverishly applying "make-up" to all of their old practices to "beautify" them beyond recognition.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have always displayed great interest in the development of Soviet African studies. This interest was clearly reflected when the most outstanding researchers of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, were decorated with orders and medals of the Soviet Union in October 1984 for their important contribution to the study of Africa and the organization of scientific research. This high honor obligates the scholars who have chosen African studies as their career to strive for new frontiers and new successes in their scientific investigations.

Soviet African scholars now have extremely important and responsible duties to perform. The main one is the thorough investigation of the problems of peace and disarmament in relation to African countries, the distinctive features and prospects of the revolutionary process on the African continent, the problems of the national liberation movement and the numerous economic, political and cultural problems of emerging African states. The performance of these duties will be impossible unless the impact and quality of our research are enhanced. Soviet African scholars will make every effort to carry out the instructions of the Communist Party and the administrators of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma TsK KPSS, 13 fevralya 1984 g." [Materials of the Special CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 13 February 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 18.
2. V. G. Afanas'yev, "Sistemnost' i obshchestvo" [Systems and Society], Moscow, 1980, p 24.
3. KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 9, p 20.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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ISRAELI CP CLAIMS HISTADRUT NOT REAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 25-33

[Article by L. Ya. Dadiani: "The Histadrut in the System of State-Monopolist Capitalism in Israel"]

[Excerpts] In spite of the allegations of the Zionist ideologists from the Israel Labor Party (ILP, formerly the MAPAI [Israel Workers' Party]) and the United Workers' Party (MAPAM), trade unions in the Israeli state have nothing in common with socialism and are actually one of the elements of state-monopolist capitalism.

The so-called "union-cooperative" sector of the economy was already established in the country during the period of the English mandate in Palestine. The leading role in its development was assigned to the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor in Eretz Israel,¹ an organization formed in 1920. From the very beginning, the Histadrut was an anti-Arab, extremely nationalist organization. For almost 40 years, right up to 1959, Arab workers were categorically denied access to the Histadrut and all of its bodies.

The Zionist leaders view the Histadrut as their own instrument in the labor movement--an organization for the economic reinforcement of the cultivation of the Zionist ideology in the Yishuv workers.² The lion's share of the Histadrut budget during the period of the British mandate was covered by funds from the World Zionist Organization (WZO).

One of the leaders of the Israeli Communist Party (MAKI), V. Ehrlich, has noted that two factors gave birth to the Histadrut: "the desire of workers to intensify their struggle with the aid of an organization of trade unions, which was abused by Zionist leaders, and the desire of the Zionist leaders to strengthen their influence among the workers by pretending to sympathize with their aspirations."³ The young Communist Party of Palestine, which had to go underground in May 1921, formed a workers' faction in the Histadrut in 1923. It consistently fought for the rights and interests of workers and other laborers under difficult conditions and exposed the nationalist policy of the social-Zionists. The Histadrut leaders could not accept this, and by April 1924 the rightwing union leadership (in a closed and essentially secret meeting) passed a resolution to exclude the workers' faction from the Histadrut. It was not until 1944 that the resolution keeping communists out of the Histadrut was repealed after a long and persistent struggle by leftist forces.

What does the Histadrut actually represent? In the opinion of several social-democratic leaders, it is an organization personifying "Israeli socialism." They have called the Histadrut a "triumph and miracle of democracy" for a long time. For example, one of the ideologists of the Socialist International, J. Braunthal, wrote in 1958 that foreign socialists saw the Histadrut as a "remarkable social experiment, a new weapon in the struggle for the implementation of socialist ideals" and defined it as "a huge organization heading the socialist sector of society."¹²

Zionist propaganda in Israel itself has an even higher evaluation of this organization. "The Histadrut," stated D. Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, "is not a trade union, a political party, a cooperative or a mutual aid society; although it acts in all of these areas, it is greater than all of them combined. The Histadrut is a union of people building their homeland, a new state, a new nationality, new enterprises and settlements and a new culture. It is a system of social reforms, which are rooted not in the possession of membership cards but in the common destiny and objectives of all of its members--under any and all conditions."¹³

Then what does the Histadrut really represent? With the passage of time, especially after the aggressive wars of 1956 and 1967, the leaders of the Histadrut, just as the MAPAI-ILP leadership, gradually departed even from social-reformism, turning this organization into an actual appendage of one of the main Zionist parties of Israel, into something like one of its auxiliary bodies. Prior to the creation of the State of Israel, the Histadrut not only found jobs for Jewish immigrants (often by driving Arab laborers off their lands and out of their jobs), but also offered them medical assistance and social insurance and managed a network of schools, various training courses and cultural establishments. The Histadrut underwrote salary raises for Jewish workers with part of the funds collected by Zionists abroad. All of this aided in the Zionist brainwashing of newcomers, their acceptance of the social-reformist ideology and the discouragement of their participation in the class and revolutionary struggle. The Histadrut continued to engage in this activity after the formation of the State of Israel, but the "workers' academic institutions were closed down in 1953 (they were slightly more progressive than the system of public education), and in 1959 the management of labor exchanges was transferred to the government, which also represented a reactionary move because it strengthened the position of capitalists.

As a result of the persistent struggle of progressive forces in Israel, especially communists, and the protests of the world public, Arab workers were finally granted the right to become members of the Histadrut in 1959; a few Arabs were elected to the council and the executive committee of this organization.¹⁶ Social-Zionist propaganda has made extensive use of this fact to publicize the allegedly democratic nature of the Histadrut and the progressive nature of the "Israeli way of life."

The structure and operations of the Histadrut, the leaders of which love to portray themselves as "knights of democracy" and "defenders of labor's interests," have always been distinguished (and particularly in recent decades) by maximum centralization and bureaucratism. The Histadrut is an

undemocratic establishment. Just as everywhere else in the country, at Histadrut enterprises the workers are not allowed any real participation in the management of production or the distribution of profits. The Histadrut leadership regularly violates the rules of trade-union democracy. In many unions, its officials appoint secretaries even before elections, thereby turning the subsequent "elections" into a farce. Whenever individuals who are not approved by the Histadrut leadership are elected secretaries, this leadership and the administration make every effort to replace them with more obedient individuals. In 1971 the MAKI noted that less than 10 percent of the delegates at a Histadrut convention were representatives of the laboring public, and the figure was even lower in the executive committee, workers' councils and other bodies of the federation.²²

The Histadrut leadership has branded the overwhelming majority of strikes illegal,²³ which makes strikers ineligible for emergency strike funds. Besides this, the strikers risk dismissal from Histadrut enterprises. In 1969 striking postal employees and port workers were accused of being agents of the Palestinian Fath organization and were threatened with expulsion from the Histadrut. With the support of the Histadrut leadership, the Israeli Government has repeatedly penalized strikers with the aid of laws on the compulsory military mobilization of strike leaders and the anti-labor emergency decrees dating back to the time of the British colonial administration (the so-called "defense laws").

The Histadrut leaders have never really defended the socioeconomic rights of Israeli laborers. The accountability report of the MAKI Central Committee to the 17th party congress (June 1972) said that "it is precisely within government and municipal service and at Histadrut enterprises that the policy of the central and local governments and the Histadrut leadership has come into acute conflict with the demands and needs of labor in recent years. This intensification of conflicts has been reflected in the strikes of port workers, civil aviation employees, secondary school teachers, postal, municipal and customs employees, nurses, X-ray technicians, the workers at the Kur electrical company and others."²⁴ More than two-thirds of the strikes between 1969 and 1971 were against the enterprises of the state sector and the Histadrut. At Histadrut-dependent enterprises, working conditions are generally much worse and wages are lower than at enterprises in the private sector.

"Some hoped that the Histadrut leadership would become more militant and lead the struggle for the interests of the laboring public in this new situation," the accountability report of the MAKI Central Committee to the 19th party congress (1981) said. "But the Maarach faction leadership in the Histadrut impeded the struggle of the laboring public and maintained its old policy of 'class peace' and responsibility for the future of the economy."²⁵ The gradual rightward shift of the Histadrut upper echelon and its disregard for the interests of the laboring public, a process which had been going on for many years, especially after the aggressive war of 1967, continued and even became more pronounced under the Likud government.

In 1974, I. Meshel criticized the anti-labor policy of ILP leaders in a brochure called "To Secure the Genuine Partnership of Israeli Workers in the

Economic and Social System," although he and other union leaders were pursuing essentially the same line in the Histadrut. The Histadrut leader advised his party that it could stay in power by making some concessions to labor, but he completely ignored, as MAKI stressed, "the basis of the problem, that is, the need for radical changes in Labor Party policy with regard to the laboring public and on other issues."²⁸ It must be said that the Rabin government did not even take the cosmetic measures proposed by Meshel. The laboring masses in Israel have never seen much difference between the labor policies of the Likud and the ILP. This was one of the main reasons for the ILP's defeat in the parliamentary elections in 1977 and 1981.

The Histadrut has taken an active part in implementing the colonial policy of Israeli ruling circles in occupied Arab lands. The majority of Zionist settlements founded on lands seized by Israel in 1967 are part of the Histadrut. It is indicative that in January 1983 the board of directors of the leading firms and factories belonging to the Histadrut and the federation's organizing committee denied the ILP leadership's request, dictated by the interests of party politics, for the Histadrut's refusal to participate in construction projects on occupied territory. In connection with this, General Director N. Rothman of Israel's largest construction company, Solel Boneh,³⁵ a firm belonging to the Histadrut, said that his firm did not want to lose important government contracts and discharge "hundreds of its workers for political reasons."

The Histadrut leadership has always taken an anticommunist stand and has always been active in various political propaganda moves against the USSR and other socialist countries. In 1956, for example, the Histadrut organized a "solidarity strike" in support of Hungarian counterrevolutionaries, in 1968 and 1969 it gave rightwing, antisocialist elements in Czechoslovakia all types of assistance, and in the 1980's it joined other reactionary organizations in support of Polish counterrevolutionary forces from the KOS-KOR, Solidarity and other subversive groups in Poland. As a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (since 1951), the Asian regional organization of the ICFTU (since 1973) and the International Labor Organization, the Histadrut has invariably been part of the right flank of these organizations and has pursued a reactionary, pro-Western, anti-Soviet policy.

The anti-labor policy of Histadrut leaders and their support of the government's expansionist foreign policy have caused many Israeli laborers who belong to the federation to display negative or passive, indifferent attitudes toward its activities and toward elections of Histadrut convention delegates and to vote against social-Zionists in increasing numbers.

For several years now, even some social-Zionist officials have made indicative statements about the real aims of the Histadrut. In 1969, for example, ILP official A. Jadlin frankly admitted in a conversation with a group of Los Angeles businessmen that Histadrut enterprises "do not actually differ in any way from other capitalist organizations except for their union ties," and that they operate "in exactly the same way as any private firm."³⁷ One MAPAM leader, P. Merchav, said in 1975 that the Histadrut "has deteriorated into an appendage of the Ministry of Finance, as economic policy is made exclusively by the latter." Merchav wrote that "the authority and prestige of the

Histadrut are constantly declining in the eyes of workers, because they see it only as a government agency."³⁸ A poll taken in spring 1971 indicated that despite all of the propaganda efforts to publicize Histadrut activity, only 16 percent of the Israeli workers view the federation as a defender of their interests.³⁹

Although the Israeli Communist Party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality are fighting for the rights and interests of the laboring public and are exposing the reactionary behavior of Histadrut leaders, they oppose the ultra-leftist viewpoint which advises workers to leave the federation and form a new central labor organization. "Israeli workers need a militant Histadrut, a militant federation of trade unions," the accountability report of the MAKI Central Committee to the 17th party congress said. "There is no question that the consistent defense of the workers' cause by stronger opposition forces in the Histadrut will augment the courage and militant spirit of workers in the struggle for their interests, despite all of the anti-labor laws and threats of employers and the government, and will force the Histadrut leadership to pay attention to worker demands."⁴⁰

Another warning against the ultra-leftist slogans about "withdrawal from the Histadrut" was issued to the laboring public by MAKI at its 18th congress. Communists have pointed out two ways of forcing the Histadrut to defend worker interests. First of all, in their opinion, forces definitely opposing the social-Zionists and the Likud must be strengthened in elections to Histadrut bodies and sectorial unions. Secondly, when the Histadrut leaders oppose the demands of the laboring public and its struggle, it must be waged through elected workers' committees and action committees on the basis of the broadest possible united front.⁴¹

It was reaffirmed at the 19th MAKI Congress that "the Histadrut is a strong potential force" which could be used in the interests of workers and other laborers if its left wing could be strengthened. "The improvement of the situation in the Histadrut and its conversion into a militant class organization defending the labor cause," the congress announced, "can be accomplished by changing the balance of power in it and applying organized pressure to its administrative bodies from below--at enterprises and through workers' committees."⁴²

It must be said that in comparison to other unions in the country--the Histadrut Haovdim Haleumit (National Federation of Labor),⁴³ Gapoel Gamizrahi and Poalei Agudat Israel⁴⁴--the General Federation of Labor is less reactionary.

The leaders of the Histadrut and sectorial trade unions cannot completely ignore the demands of workers and are incapable of totally blocking the activity of Communists and members of other progressive forces in labor organs on the central and local levels, including the council and executive committee of the Histadrut. Under the influence of the laboring public, some Histadrut leaders have sometimes criticized the most reactionary and unpopular actions of the government in the economic and social spheres. For this reason, the Zionist monopolist bourgeoisie in Israel and abroad has expressed dissatisfaction with the "privileged status" of the Histadrut and has advised the "greater

liberalization" of the Israeli economy. Big capital cannot even accept the extremely limited autonomy of the Histadrut, fearing that democratic forces could, under certain conditions, and primarily as a result of communist activity, make much more extensive use of the "union" sector in the interests of the laboring masses.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Eretz Israel"--"Great Israel"--is a Zionist term signifying Palestine within its "biblical boundaries" and presupposing the inclusion of several Arab territories in Israel.
2. "Yishuv"--the Jewish population of Palestine.
3. V. Ehrlich, "'Socialist Zionism' from Ben-Gurion to the Labor Party," ARAHIM, 1975, No 6, p 16 (in Hebrew).
12. "Sozialistische Weltstimmen," (West) Berlin, Hannover, 1958, pp 154-155.
13. W. Preuss, "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Israel; Geschichte und Gegenwart," Koeln, 1969, p 172.
16. The council and executive committee of the Histadrut (the first body is elected by a convention held once every 4 years, and the second is elected by the council) do not have the power to pass resolutions. The daily work of the Histadrut is headed by an organizing committee elected by the executive committee and headed by the secretary general of the federation. It does not include a single member of a progressive organization or a single Arab.
22. ZO GADERECH, 27 April 1971.
23. For example, "wildcat" strikes accounted for 56 percent of the total in 1971, 65 percent in 1973, 78 percent in 1976 and around 70 percent in 1979.
24. "XVII s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya" [17th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party], Moscow, 1973, p 54.
25. "XIX s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya," Moscow, 1982, p 35.
28. "XVIII s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya," Moscow, 1976, p 113.
35. Solel Boneh (the first word means "paving" in Hebrew and the second means "builder"), founded in 1920, has engaged and is still engaged in military construction projects in Israel (for example, a nuclear reactor project) and in a number of foreign countries.
37. THE SUNDAY TIMES, 27 July 1969.
38. DIE ZUKUNFT, 1975, No 17, p 14.

39. DER SPIEGEL, 19 April 1971, p 142.
40. "XVII s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya," p 56.
41. "XVIII s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya," p 111.
42. "XIX s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Izrailya," p 35.
43. This federation was formed back in 1934 and has been affiliated with the pro-fascist Herut party since 1948. It objects to the very existence of the Histadrut, to the compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes and to the transfer of medical services and social insurance to government jurisdiction.
44. Trade unions of religious parties. The first is affiliated with the National Religious Party, and the second is affiliated with the ultra-orthodox Agudat Israel (Union of Israel) Party. These two unions have had representatives in the union and social services departments of the Histadrut since 1953 but have not elected delegates to Histadrut conventions.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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CSO: 1807/280

ROUNDTABLE ON CAPITALISM'S POTENTIAL IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 81-94

[Report by O. S. Vorkunov, researcher at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, on roundtable discussion of capitalism's prospects in the developing world]

[Text] The nature, distinctive features, stability and durability of capitalist relations in developing countries and of capitalism's prospects in Asia and Africa are pertinent scientific topics today. This was the subject matter of an exchange of views by scholars from the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the academy Oriental Studies Institute, the academy Institute of the International Workers Movement, the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of the Asian and African Countries of Moscow State University.

The proceedings of their meeting lay at the basis of this roundtable discussion.

G. I. Mirskiy (IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations]). This topic is of great analytical and practical importance. The accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress said the following about the countries that had freed themselves from colonial oppression: "Some took the revolutionary-democratic path after liberation. Capitalist relations were established in others."¹ This last group of countries is our subject. What is the nature of the capitalist relations established in these countries? What can we say about capitalism's future in the developing world?

When the colonial system was collapsing, Western bourgeois scholars expressed views which can essentially be summarized as the following: Every cloud has a silver lining; the Western powers are losing colonies in Asia and Africa but there is now room for the spread and consolidation of the system of free enterprise there, which will prevent revolutions and "communist" takeovers and will ultimately strengthen, and not weaken, the "free world" by injecting it with "new blood." This was the so-called theory of the "rejuvenation of the capitalist world."

The years went by, and now these scholars are expressing different views. Disillusionment and pessimism can be heard more frequently in their statements. Capitalism in the young states did not live up to their expectations. It turned out that the national bourgeoisie in the majority of these states is weak, has no authority, is incapable of leading the society, has shown no inclination to invest capital in productive spheres and avoids taking risks in politically unstable situations. The ideas about the rapid growth of the system of private enterprise in the Asian and African countries and the establishment of ruling forces capable of becoming imperialism's class allies were not corroborated by actual events, with the exception of developments in a few countries. The process of capitalism's establishment in these countries turned out to be a complex and contradictory matter.

Soviet scholars concluded that capitalism had absolutely no future in the emerging countries and would be fundamentally unable to solve the young states' urgent problems. They also concluded that socialism would spread through Asia and Africa like an avalanche. This seemed to be corroborated when the leaders of one new political regime after another declared socialism as their goal.

Events proved, however, that the matter was not so simple in this respect either. Counterrevolutionary coups took place in some socialist-oriented countries, and other countries began to display regressive processes and the growth of capitalist relations in urban and rural areas. At the same time, capitalist development in Asia and Africa itself began to take unfamiliar, "unorthodox" forms. In Saudi Arabia and some other OPEC countries, for example, part of the feudal aristocracy turned into an "oil" bourgeoisie, and new centers of international financial capital came into being. Besides this, the revolution in Iran presented an example of the collapse of "cultivated capitalism" in a country which was essentially chosen by imperialism to serve expressly as the showcase or model of capitalist development in an Asian state.

All of the complexities and contradictions in this situation understandably gave rise to disputes and debates in our scientific community. Different views have been expressed about capitalism's ability to serve as a "system-forming factor" in the developing countries. Scientists are beginning to think that it may have appeared there too late and that it might not have enough time to become established there.

There is the view that a number of factors prevent capitalism from becoming the dominant method of production in Asian and African countries. These factors are, firstly, capitalism's inability to "digest" the traditional sector of the economy, solve the employment problem, involve the majority of the population in modern production, create a large enough domestic market and secure social reforms; secondly, the inevitable enhancement of the role of government, which in the majority of cases is solely capable of organizing modern large-scale production and mobilizing the necessary financial resources, all of which is beyond the capabilities of the private sector; thirdly, the unproductive and often parasitical nature of the local bourgeoisie, which has neither the sources of accumulation the Western bourgeoisie

once had, nor the experience, traditions or "taste" for industrial enterprise.

The supporters of another point of view acknowledge the factors listed above and agree that the absolute repetition of the "Western" pattern of capitalist development is impossible, but they nevertheless believe that a specific dependent form of capitalism can be established in Asia and Africa as a client of imperialism. This refers to an "inferior," "peripheral" form of capitalism, subordinate to the "center." But besides this, it is possible that some countries can even make the transition to state-monopolist capitalism (or, as it is sometimes called, "bureaucratic state-monopolist capitalism," a unique state-capitalist structure) without going through the cycle of the development of "free" private enterprise.

I have deliberately oversimplified these two views to some extent in an attempt to reveal their main features and establish a more precise foundation for a debate. The two points of view actually have many more nuances and are much more complex. I think that we should not forget during this discussion that there is no such thing as one single "developing world." The differentiation of the young independent states is now quite pronounced, and any attempt to make general statements about capitalism's prospects in all of the Asian and African countries as a whole is tempting but would probably be counterproductive.

L. I. Reysner (IV [Oriental Studies Institute], USSR Academy of Sciences). The question of the development of the integral capitalist method of production is one of the central questions in the social evolution of developing states. In our opinion, there is sufficient evidence of the progressive contraction of the very bounds within which capitalism's establishment in the Asian and African countries is even possible.

The developing world was late in joining the process of capitalist reproduction. In contrast to the period of capitalism's establishment in the West, the nature and level of the development of productive forces at the present time have undergone such substantial changes that their mastery by means of private capitalist methods is becoming impossible. This applies primarily to changes in the conditions of capital accumulation. In today's developed capitalist countries, such as England, the process of accumulation in the first half of the 19th century took place under the conditions of low capital requirements and of production with considerable potential for the absorption of labor. These conditions, even in spite of the relatively small size of individual enterprises, contributed to the acceleration of accumulations. This was accompanied by the rapid formation of classes of the capitalist type: the growth and simultaneous differentiation of the main classes of this kind of structure--the bourgeoisie and hired labor. The conditions of accumulation in the emerging countries are distinguished primarily by the much more complex organic and technical structure of capital. The compounding of the "critical mass" of primary accumulations needed for the establishment of the modern industrial enterprise erects almost insurmountable investment barriers impeding the formation of classes of the capitalist type.

The population explosion has a similar effect. The accelerated growth of the population and of its able-bodied segments complicates the unemployment problem and inhibits the establishment of a more progressive sectorial employment structure in the developing countries. The majority of the population is still in the agrarian-raw material sector of the national economy. The slow reorganization of employment patterns and of the economy in general inhibits the growth of the factory and plant proletariat. Class formation takes place in a situation in which industrialization cannot keep up with the urbanization of the population.

Even state protectionist measures are not enough for the diffusion of capitalist production relations in the developing world. In the absence of a strong local bourgeoisie, state ownership and state capitalism cannot promote the establishment of the capitalist method of production to the fullest extent. As the stronger competitor in local markets, foreign capital is preventing the growth of the national bourgeoisie in the emerging states.

The combination of all of these factors testifies that capitalism's prospects on the "periphery" of the capitalist world, in the developing world, are just as severely limited as those of its Western prototype.

V. A. Yashkin (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences). I agree that capitalism has a relatively weaker basis for development in the young states. This is not a matter of capitalism's total inability to develop in emerging countries (this development is occurring, and it is sometimes quite rapid), but of its inability or limited ability to serve as a formative order.

Injecting foreign capital may accelerate the development of capitalism, but only in a "peripheral"--that is, backward and dependent--form. The development of capitalism with state aid, on the other hand, gives rise to certain social forms that will eventually undermine the system of capitalism.

Modern production requires large expenditures of capital and relatively small quantities of manpower. For this reason, the use of new technology is not accompanied by the rapid growth of the modern proletariat. The expansion of capitalist relations cannot take place in the absence of the proletariat's relative growth in the total labor force. In the developing world, the productive and social functions of capitalism are divergent at the present time.

Capital in the emerging countries has little integrative potential. Capitalism here does not "mill" traditional orders as much as it adapts them or adapts to them. Integrative processes in the capitalist sector take place in an atmosphere of the mutual repulsion of structural forms. Capitalism's growth here is impeded considerably by the pressure of the traditional methods and by the pressure of advanced (monopolist) forms of capital. This results in the relative contraction of the boundaries of capitalist production relations in their "classic" form. But is it possible that the capitalist method of production can be established here by some other means, differing from the "Western variety"? Is it possible that some kind of distinctive form of state-monopolist capitalism is taking shape here?

This seems highly improbable to me. In the first place, the development of social relations in the Asian and African countries is not, in our opinion, moving in the direction of state-monopolist capitalism. The expansion of state forms of economic management in the developing world cannot be equated with state-monopolist capitalism either. In the second place, the growth of state-monopolist forms of economic management can lead to the disappearance of private capitalist business. In both cases the basis for the spread of capitalist production relations is reduced.

It seems to me that it would be incorrect in principle to reduce the crisis of capitalism in the emerging countries to a crisis affecting only its specific stages (early capitalism). It would be even more incorrect to assume that the ability to surmount these isolated crises, if this ability exists, can give the capitalism of this era of general crisis broad scope for development in the emerging countries, or that it can give these countries extensive opportunities for economic and social progress.²

N. A. Simoniya (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences). The establishment and growth of capitalism are apparent in the majority of developing countries. On the Asian continent this process is apparent in around 75 percent of all the emerging states. Social evolution in these states is occurring within the framework of the bourgeois structure. Changes in the world situation as a whole have nullified the rigid rules governing capitalist development in the emerging states. The existence of the worldwide socialist system has given rise to the real possibility of emergence from the boundaries of capitalist structures and of non-capitalist development in all parts of the developing world. In the young states where development patterns will not undergo radical changes in the near future, however, the further spread of capitalist production relations can be expected, as well as the establishment of the capitalist method of production in at least some of these states.

The origins of capitalism in the East are not identical to the model of "normal" or "classic" capitalism. This abstract analytical model is known to be based on the generalization of the specific historical experience of West European countries. A number of phases can be distinguished even in the formative development of these countries, however, and the total group can be seen only in the experience of England. It is completely obvious that the Asian countries will not repeat the sequence of phases prescribed by the "classic" model, as it would then take more than a century to close the gap between their level of development and the level of highly developed countries. The matter in question therefore is the particular phases of "normal" capitalism that are omitted, reduced or altered in the foreign Eastern countries choosing today's bourgeois models as a guide for their own development.³

The well-known sequence of capitalist development (private capital---private monopoly---state-monopolist capitalism) is disrupted in the Asian countries during the very first phase. The exclusion of the stage of private capitalism with free competition makes significant changes in their formative transition. But does this mean that the entire genetic code of the capitalist structure is altered?

It seems to us that other, non-classic varieties of capitalist development are possible in the East--varieties which converge during the final stage rather than intermediate ones. Attempts to surmount the crisis of early capitalist development are similar in some ways to the characteristic economic policy of Bonapartist regimes. The possibility of an abrupt move to the phase of state-monopolist capitalism cannot be excluded either. In this case, the development of the capitalist structure in Asia takes a detrimental form. The omission of the phase of free competition means that the system-forming function in the accelerated establishment of state-monopolist capitalism is transferred to the state-capitalist order. As a result, the role of superstructural factors is enhanced dramatically. On the political level, the acceleration of social development promotes the rise of neo-Bonapartist dictatorships.

The direct transition to the phase of state-monopolist capitalism can be accomplished in different ways in different countries. In particular, social evolution is influenced by bureaucratic state capitalism, which serves as the system-forming order in such countries as Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand and some others. On the strength of the bureaucracy's special role in these countries, the formation of state-monopolist capitalism can be a progression from bureaucratic capital to bureaucratic state capitalism to bureaucratic state-monopolist capitalism.

In spite of the great variety of possible patterns of capitalist development, they are all distinguished by a quicker--in comparison to the West--transition to the final stages of capitalism, to the phase of capitalism's demise. This is one of the distinctive features of the general crisis of capitalism on its "periphery."

K. L. Maydanik (IMEMO). I think that the transfer of the "train" of capitalist development in the African and Asian countries to the "Western track" is quite doubtful in principle; in any case, the "station" (or stage) of state-monopolist capitalism, in the sense in which we used this term in the 1960's and 1970's, will not be a junction. This applies to economic development and, to a qualitatively greater extent, to the development of society in general. A quite indicative example of this can be seen in today's Latin America, where the system of emerging state-monopolist capital differs in several fundamental ways from the "West European" system, and where the probability of this system's stability is constantly diminishing.

External and internal factors, some of which have already been discussed, have long been reflected in stable elements of social structures and their distinctive dynamics, and some which have just begun to influence these structures are constantly "disrupting" Western patterns of capitalist development and operation, limiting their potential, violating the "sequence" of processes, etc.

As a result, the historical period of evolution toward the mature form of capitalism--from isolated and sometimes quite developed elements--is delayed considerably (although the number of phases in this evolution decreases and the boundaries between them are erased), and what is most important, the

capitalism taking shape on the periphery of the system is structurally different from Western capitalism--both in its present and in its earlier parallel "spirals" of development.

The general features of "secondary," peripheral, dependent development and, in particular, the "omission" of some of its phases naturally have a constant effect on the nature of the system it engenders. It is known that a common and extremely "qualitative" result of the distinctive features of capitalism in the countries of the "second echelon" of its development (in Eastern and Southern Europe) is the prevalence of the socialist alternative during the crucial phase in which the capitalist alternative prevailed in the West.

In today's Latin America (which "skipped" the phase of free competition, historical stages in the evolution of mature capitalism, etc.), there are certain structural tendencies differing dramatically from the prevailing tendencies in Western Europe and in Eastern Europe during presumably similar stages of economic and social evolution. Such salient features of the Western systems of capitalist structures as durability, stable (for several decades) patterns of capitalist accumulation and class hegemony, and social integration based on economic laws of formation, are still absent in the "South." The omission of some stages of development and the occurrence of others at a different time, the inertia of centuries of development and the "latest" stimuli emanating from the centers of world systems, the natural maintenance of the "handicap" (within the capitalist world) and the constant effects of the "field of dependence" (maintained by underdevelopment and by several elements of bourgeois progress) all make the homogenization of capitalist structures in the center of the system and on its periphery improbable, especially within the foreseeable future. Certain elements of this kind of homogenization do exist within some countries; resulting from the operations of transnational corporations, they are becoming factors in the disintegration of national development.

M. A. Cheshkov (IMEMO). A diagram of the capitalist structure would consist of the following links: the premise (the separation of the producer from the means of production), the "cell" (commodity), the basis (free competition) and the machinery of transition to the higher stage (monopoly). State-monopolist capitalism in the West had the appropriate premise, cell and basis and resulted from the sequential stages of competition, private monopolies and state monopolies.

During the era of capitalist colonization (beginning in the 17th century) and until the start of the process of industrialization (in the middle of the 20th), the establishment of capitalism in the colonies was distinguished by the following features: The separation of producers from the means of production and, to an even greater extent, their transformation into hired labor took place on a limited scale because most producers were in the worst possible position in relation to the means of production; what took shape at that time could be categorized more as the production of exchange value than as commercial production; competition did not precede the monopoly but coexisted with it, primarily taking the form of monopolist competition; the state monopoly was not a result of the private monopoly but existed prior to it or at the same time.

When industrialization began in the developing countries (from the 1950's to the 1970's), the separation of producers from the means of production became the main process, keeping ahead of the process of their unification on a capitalist basis and far ahead of the formation of a hired labor force; small-scale commodity production was established, but it became dependent either on capital or on the state; monopolist competition still dominated market relations, and the state monopoly was increasingly likely to have the final or mediating effect on the private monopoly. Therefore, even if we presuppose the establishment of state-monopolist capitalism here, it can only take a form in which the capitalist structure is devoid of certain broad premises, has a shaky "cell" and "basis" and does not follow the normal sequence of establishment. It is obvious that this is not simply a matter of the transposition or omission of specific phases in capitalism's establishment, but of a different genetic "chain" from the one lying at the basis of capitalist development and the establishment of state-monopolist capitalism in the West. Nevertheless, even here we can presuppose the establishment of a special form of state-monopolist capitalism if we ignore the radical changes brought about by social and historical factors in this genetic "chain" (the antagonistic world systems and the revolution in social production). In this case, state-monopolist capitalism in the developing countries cannot be anything more than an embellishment or a fragment of society (similar, for instance, to small-scale manufacture in the feudal order). This conclusion does not deny the growth of capitalist relations, but the idea that these relations can represent a specific historical era of national production in the developing countries. Due to internal conflicts, primarily between capitalist and non-capitalist elements of the emerging structure (particularly state ownership), capitalism loses its absolute nature, becomes relative or, to put it a different way, serves as one of the many methods and patterns of social development. This limited nature is reflected in the far from coincidental growth of its classic forms in the enclaves of the world capitalist system and, conversely, the development of its deviant forms across broad social belts (in India, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia and probably Nigeria). In our opinion, relativity is also the main symptom of the limited nature of capitalism's historical potential in the developing countries; therefore, the idea of capitalism acquires analytical meaning only within the broader context, such as the etachratic society⁴ or (in a less categorical form) in the idea of the state-capitalist type of system.⁵

V. L. Sheynis (IMEMO). First of all, I would like to point out two salient features of the "abbreviated" pattern of capitalist development in the East. The first is the "unorthodox" nature of capitalist development itself (or perhaps it would be more precise to apply this to the group of processes we customarily define as such). Here the main feature is the transposition of the economic forms coexisting in the bourgeois West today and combining to make up the economic mechanism of state-monopolist capitalism: competition, the market, monopolies and the state. In many developing countries the process begins (and sometimes ends) with the state. But a state-controlled economy, state regulation and planning and a state sector outside a sufficiently developed commercial capitalist environment permeating the entire economic structure of society are, at the very least, not totally definable as state capitalism. If monopolies do not dominate the private economic sector, it is not state-monopolist capitalism either. Some say that the

world capitalist economy represents this kind of environment and that most of it is located outside the national-state economic mechanism. If this is so, then we are dealing here not with the state capitalism of the "Western" type that took shape within a completely different social and economic system. Combined in different ways, the constituent elements of the system of social relations take forms requiring analysis prior to their categorization in accordance with a different set of historical facts.

The second feature is represented by the serious barriers inhibiting the capitalist transformation of developing countries. The main one is the objective, almost mathematically calculable impossibility of private economic capitalism to "rework" pre-capitalist orders in the majority of Afro-Asian countries within the foreseeable future by subordinating their dynamics to its own laws, crowding the traditional sector out of the economy and, what is most important, employing the majority of the labor force. This is why the state sector and state regulation have new functions of unprecedented scales and natures--economic (economic growth and the reorganization of productive forces) and social (the maintenance of the physical existence of millions of people). From the standpoint of physical resources, the last function must compete with initial and capitalist accumulations.

It would be premature to conclude from this that the path of capitalist development in the East has been blocked: I have not referred here to the influence of forces, which are sometimes quite strong, capable of guiding the progression of many developing countries along this path at a quicker rate than known historical examples. It is important, however, to determine not only the balance between acting and counteracting forces in this process (this is a separate project), but also the main implications of this "accelerated" or modified development.

The "omission" of phases of "ordinary" capitalist development is often included among the positive features of contemporary social processes in the East. This view seems somewhat onesided. It does not give enough consideration to the danger of the acceleration of certain hybrids of contemporary and traditional social structures with only distant and relatively short-lived analogues in Western history. There has been some mention of Bonapartism or "neo-Bonapartism" in the developing countries during this discussion. Although "Bonapartism" was a short-lived structure in the history of West European capitalism and deviated from the sociopolitical mainstream, it is of great interest.

In Marx' model of Bonapartism, it is important to distinguish between three elements of the social base of this regime, meaningful in the context of our analysis as points of comparison. The first is the "10 December Society," a "secret organization of the Parisian lumpenproletariat," a personal Praetorian guard recruited from all social strata, but especially from among various declassé elements (we should note that these are the social groups on whom many revolutionaries, from Bakunin to today's ultra-leftists, have relied so much). The second is the peasantry, a socially fragmented group prepared by historical developments to give up their votes, as well as their heads on battlefields, for the sake of a human symbol, "in the name of Napoleon." The third is the bourgeoisie, a fairly weak one which has not

yet accomplished the capitalist transformation of the economy and society but is already wary of the proletariat. It gives up direct political authority in exchange for unlimited business opportunities. The main target of the Bonapartist dictatorship is independent political activity by the working class (we have strong memories of this), and it seeks to suppress, destroy and distort civilian social institutions because they exist independently of the state and to deprive the democratic intelligentsia of any independent role (for some reason, we are sometimes inclined to forget this).

Sometimes history repeats itself and sometimes it does not. Direct analogues are quite rare, and all historical experience is educative. If we look at some of the features of social development in the East through the prism of the Bonapartist model, behind all of the exceptional variety of patterns of development and huge differences between them we can see some exaggerated features making up the backbone of this model. First of all, there are many more declassé elements here than there were in France in the 19th century. This stratum is constantly growing and is made up of qualitatively diverse elements, including educated and semieducated ones. It frequently acts as part of the urban masses. Secondly, the peasantry here is less developed socially, and the peasants in the majority of developing countries have not undergone any experience comparable to the French revolution and, what is most important, are much more dependent on the state (in France the state protected peasants only against the partition of the land, but in many developing countries it secures the conditions of reproduction and even of social and physical survival). Thirdly, whereas the bourgeoisie in Europe was genetically related to the burgers opposing the feudal lords, in the developing countries it represents a much more diverse conglomerate, growing out of a society with much more perceptible extraeconomic barriers, a rigid system of social stratification, etc. Fourthly, the working class in many Eastern countries still represents a "class in itself," is numerically weak (particularly its factory and plant segments), enjoys certain privileges lacked by other social strata and is sometimes under state patronage. Fifthly, civilian social institutions are usually much weaker (if they exist at all) in the developing countries.

For this reason, it seems to me that one of the strongest developmental tendencies (although not the only one) in the East results in a society with the following distinctive features:

A strong state performing several of the functions performed by the civilian society in Europe;

Weak economic and social counterbalances to the power of the state, which represents a combination of certain social interests as well as its own;

The forcible standardization of various facets of social and ideological life (frequently in religious form);

Considerable economic inefficiency and the tendency to squander limited resources on matters of prestige and other parasitical pursuits;

The perpetuation of social inequality on a new basis;

The intensification of rigidity and something like the petrification of several social structures complicating the progressive processes of social evolution.

Obviously, this is only one of the tendencies of social development, but it is a real one, rooted in the past and present of many Eastern countries and carrying the threat of serious upheavals that could cross national state boundaries. Today it is difficult to predict the longevity of these structures, but they are hardly likely to be a short-lived and localized historical episode such as the Second Empire in France. We must not forget any of these facts or assign them less importance than they deserve in our discussion of the prospects and distinctive features of socioeconomic evolution in the East.

V. M. Kollontay (IMEMO). Several reproductive systems coexist in the Asian and African countries and they will continue to coexist for a long time. The result will be a multidimensional and sometimes contradictory process of socioeconomic development.

Will this process lead to the establishment of capitalism in the developing countries? An affirmative answer would presuppose that one system-forming factor is operating in all of them (or at least in the majority). There is not sufficient reason for this assumption. In some countries capitalism will probably be the prevailing system. This will most likely occur in the states chosen by imperialism as primary objects of interest. Other alternatives are also quite possible, however, particularly those based on the lengthy coexistence of various structures.

The coexistence of traditional and contemporary sectors displays some features of interdependence. In the developing countries each of these structures sometimes appears to be kept alive by the other. The economic basis of this phenomenon lies in the profound contradictions connected with the introduction of a modern material production base in economically underdeveloped countries, especially through capitalist methods. The exploitation of pre-capitalist structures to secure the profitability of the capitalist sector also plays an important role. This results in a unique division of social and economic functions in the reproductive machinery: Production grows in the modern sector while labor resources are absorbed by pre-capitalist structures. The relative growth of the latter can work in conjunction with other factors to restrict capitalist tendencies.

At the same time, modern structures stimulate the growth of traditional sectors. Capital's limited ability to employ labor resources, which was discussed here by L. I. Reysner and V. A. Yashkin, impedes the growth of capitalist production relations. The other side of the coin is the growth of pre-capitalist structures and of the social masses they employ. The post-war population explosion intensified these processes and gave them unprecedented dimensions. The entire socioeconomic structure in the developing countries differs significantly from the traditional structure in the West, both in terms of basic parameters and in terms of tendencies toward change.

In connection with this, the present stage in the development of production relations in the Eastern societies represents a qualitatively different phenomenon than state-monopolist capitalism in the industrial countries. The question of whether these differences will gradually grow more pronounced or will disappear warrants more serious analysis.

A. A. Sterbalova (IMRD [Institute of the International Workers Movement]). It might be useful to look at China's historical experience during this discussion.⁶ All of the specific features of capitalism in the developing countries mentioned by speakers so far were clearly apparent in China back in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's.

Just as all of the other Eastern countries, China did not undergo the stage of initial accumulation. Elements of capitalism were cultivated by the state and constructed over a gigantic sea of fragmented and archaic small and miniscule production units employing around 90 percent of the population. Capitalism was cultivated without any agrarian or industrial revolutions--the "normal" points of departure for capitalist evolutionary development. It became a specific and seemingly "self-contained" enclave with no ability to grow in breadth or depth. It was less likely to transform small-scale production than to destroy it by taking huge segments of the population out of this sphere. The tens of millions of declassé paupers were not absorbed by industrial centers. Capitalism did not create a new method of production here, but did destroy the old method by giving rise to a unique situation having nothing in common with the period of initial accumulation in the West.

State capitalism in China had the basic features attributed to development in the emerging countries today: the state's special regulating economic role to limit the destructive effects of private industry on small-scale production. The economic and social functions of the state in China are rooted in the country's distant past. A fragmented group of small producers making up the amorphous pre-capitalist social structure constituted the appropriate social base for relative autonomy. Even in the 1920's and 1930's the formation of modern classes was far from complete. The so-called intermediate strata, including the peasantry and all transitional groups, essentially remained the main groups. Their interests, which were not always realized clearly, objectively limited the development of productive forces in capitalist forms.

Can this phenomenon be called state-monopolist capitalism, which is known to signify the merger of the state with monopolies? Of course not. This is closer to a specific variety of state monopoly based on the merger of state authority and ownership in the absence of any kind of developed form of bourgeois private ownership.

As for the difficulties in defining the formative characteristics of societies on the former colonial and dependent periphery, we should remember that they now depend on their affiliation with the world capitalist economy. The future will probably afford new opportunities for the determination of capitalism's future in the young national states. It probably will not be the prevailing structure in the developing world. The future will lie primarily in the transition to the non-capitalist type of development.

A. I. Medovoy (MGIMO MID [Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs]). The type of production relations now being established in the developing countries is unparalleled in history. This is due largely to the nature of the interstructural interaction discussed by V. I. Kollontay. Although capitalism is developing in the emerging states, it is not taking the forms it took in the capitalist countries of the West. The state sector in the developing countries also differs significantly in terms of its socioeconomic functions. They also have a different type of monopolist capital, which has retained various traditional economic forms in its structure. Neither in scale nor in form is the monopolist sector comparable to the entity of the same name in the economic centers of imperialism.

The result of historical development in the Asian and African countries will be a qualitatively different type of society, doomed to a lengthy period of multiple structures, economic dependence and constant vegetation. This tendency, the multiple structures and the dependence can only be surmounted through radical reforms of the socialist type.

L. A. Fridman (ISAA pri MGU [Moscow State University Institute of the Asian and African Countries]). "Classic" capitalism is a structure which has never actually existed in its pure form. This is why it is absolutely wrong to judge the establishment of capitalism in the developing world on the basis of its approximation of some kind of ideal "classic" model. Specific systems of production relations, representing a combination of various socioeconomic forms, are taking shape in the emerging countries. One of these, the monopoly, is also an extremely conditional term whose meaning changes in different sets of historical circumstances. It is a well-known fact that monopolies existed in the pre-capitalist period--in trade, for example. In the Eastern countries the state monopoly in various spheres of production and trade has also existed for a long time.

It should be stressed that the developing world is quite diverse. Social relations here change at different rates and take different forms, making up a variety of structural combinations. There are large monopolies, a state sector and other capitalist economic forms in African, Asian and Latin American countries. The balance between these forms of business activity differs and can have differing results.

Furthermore, in spite of certain factors which are common to all of the developing countries and which are limiting the growth of the capitalist structure, there is also the opposite tendency. Capitalism has not exhausted its possibilities in the developing world and the capitalist type of production relations can be stimulated from within this world and from outside. Even though the young states occupy a unique place in the capitalist system of division of labor, they are certainly influenced by the production relations of the system in which they participate in a subordinate position. The motives and interests of capital in the young national states are the same as in their former mother countries. The emerging states are experiencing a multitude of extremely difficult problems, however, which capitalism is not capable of solving.

As for the most probable future patterns of social evolution in the majority of developing countries, we can hardly agree that modern state-monopolist capitalism is their final destination. The socioeconomic development of emerging countries will probably be accompanied by more pronounced differences within the developing world and between this world and the "centers" of world imperialism.

M. Ya. Volkov (IMEMO). Is it possible that the significance of the peculiarities, distinctive features and characteristics of formative development is being exaggerated? This makes it difficult to discern the main tendency in the socioeconomic evolution of the majority of developing countries.

Several external and internal factors are contributing to the reproduction of capitalist social relations on a broader scale. As part of the system of international capitalist division of labor, the young states are constantly experiencing the pernicious effects of temporary fluctuations in the capitalist market and, what is most important, the production relations prevailing in this system. The capitalist exploitation of the developing countries and their economic subordination to the interests of former mother countries did not disappear along with colonialism, but still exist in a slightly different form. External stimuli of social development are much stronger than they were during the era of free competition, and this is largely due to the growth of the economic potential of capitalist countries.

Of course, capitalist production relations are an external factor in relation to the multistructured economy, within which they usually acquire deformed or distorted characteristics and combine in strange ways with the exploitative relations of previous eras.

Internal factors, on the other hand, are urging the capitalist pattern of development on many states in the developing world. "Small-scale production," V. I. Lenin said, "gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie constantly, daily, hourly, naturally and on a mass scale."⁷ The small-scale production prevailing in the developing economy naturally leads to self-generating and self-regenerating private enterprise. The mosaic of different structures should not obscure the fact that capitalist production relations retain their essential features and their capacity for growth in the emerging states, despite all of their distinctive features and unfamiliar appearance.

T. S. Pokatayeva (IMEMO). Capitalism in the emerging states is developing as a backward and dependent part of the contemporary world capitalist system. It is more a result of the spread of capitalism from the "centers" of world capitalism to the "periphery" than of inner growth on a local basis. Foreign capital, particularly international monopolies, plays a significant role here in the establishment of the capitalist order. The foreign sector is part of the capitalist order.

Discussions of capitalism's prospects in the developing countries generally point up the difficulties connected with the increased size of initial investments, the so-called investment barrier, the high capital requirements of production, etc. But this is a problem for the local bourgeoisie, and not for capitalism as such, and they are far from the same in the developing countries.

It is unlikely that the high level of world productive forces is one of the main factors inhibiting the establishment of capitalism in the developing countries, although this progress is naturally more complex and contradictory now than it was during corresponding periods of Western history.

It appears that small-scale production, this most important internal source of capitalist relations, is not playing the same role as a mass base and nutritive medium for capitalism as it once played in the West. Most of the small peasant farms in Asia and Africa are outside the capitalist sector, and frequently outside the petty commercial sector as well. These backward and underdeveloped farms, to which the majority of the population is bound, and the growing gap between them and modern large production units lie at the basis of the most acute economic and social conflicts in the developing countries, and capitalism's obvious inability to involve the small farms in the general process of development in the foreseeable future testifies to its limited transforming potential in the developing world and to its historical futility in the broader context.

Yu. K. Ostrovityanov (IMEMO). Several of the participants in this round-table discussion regard the capitalist evolution of the overwhelming majority of young national states, even in distorted form (for example, with the "omission" of certain phases), to be a reality. I do not find their arguments convincing. They do not seek corroboration in the historical origins and development of the emerging states. Several current events have corroborated the "tissue incompatibility" of the socioeconomic structures in many developing countries with industrial capitalist development. The Iranian revolution, in our opinion, is a vivid example of the rejection of the Western type of state-monopolist capitalism by the traditional Islamic society.

The distinctive features of Afro-Asian societies are economic fragmentation, ethnic divisions and incomplete social development. The acceptance of capitalism is a difficult and painful process for these societies. Even such a seemingly simple bourgeois-democratic measure, tried and tested through years of experience, as agrarian reform can be stubbornly resisted by the patriarchal peasantry in countries where tribal and communal ownership prevails.

The non-capitalist pattern of development, which came into being under the influence of socialism, is much more practicable in the developing world. It creates the possibility of avoiding the financial ruin of millions of craftsmen and peasants, of planning the sequential reorganization of pre-capitalist economic structures, of giving traditional social institutions new meaning, of using them for the progressive conversion of society and of putting an end to dependence on foreign monopolies. The non-capitalist course of development, however, is lengthy. It does not exclude the possibility of regression and abrupt turns and reversals. There is also the possibility that regimes once choosing the non-capitalist path will degenerate in favor of an updated "Asian" method of production.

Summation by G. I. Mirskiy. Two points of view were expressed in this discussion. According to one, anything that is not socialism or communism should be called capitalism. This kind of definition based on contrasts is useful, even though it is too general. This interpretation of capitalism does not

confine the researcher to the definition of only one facet, phase or form of this social order.

The other approach consists in confining capitalism to a strictly defined model. This approach, however, poses the danger of identifying capitalism with the form it took in Western Europe. Since many of the factors which led to the formation of the capitalist method of production do not exist in the developing countries today, the order developing within them cannot be described as capitalism in the full sense of the term. One argument in favor of this approach is that capitalist production relations occupy a relatively modest place in the multistructured economy of the developing countries. This certainly does not mean, however, that capitalism cannot be a system-forming order.

As for external factors, many of them are guiding social development in the emerging states into the capitalist channel. Moreover, it is possible that the external effects of capitalism can compensate for the inadequacies of internal processes in the developing world, but in our day there is another powerful factor of social development in the Afro-Asian countries--the influence of world socialism, which is constantly growing. Although the developing countries are located within the framework of the capitalist world economic system, they occupy a special place within it.

The very existence of the socialist system and its appeal are causing many developing countries to withdraw and emerge from the orbit of capitalist dependence and choose a truly independent pattern of development. We can also assume that the countries in which no radical popular-democratic (potentially socialist) revolution takes place will arrive at capitalism after undergoing some intermediate phases. This danger also exists in countries where ruling circles originally chose socialism but subsequently could not--or did not want to--institute reforms transcending the bounds of what might be called the petty bourgeois-bureaucratic, state-capitalist model. This kind of capitalism, as speakers pointed out, will differ considerably from the "classic" Western form.

The bourgeoisie in the East has been historically "unlucky." It began "operating at full speed" when conditions were already against it (particularly the technological revolution, which allows only the state to become the decisive driving force of modern economic development).

It is likely that private economic capitalism (in contrast to state capitalism) has little chance of becoming a structure-forming factor in most of Asia and Africa. State capitalism, on the other hand, can take various routes of future development. It is capable of becoming the basis of commercial activity, which will become viable only with its support. Without this support, the tendency toward the degeneration of capitalist forms will be irreversible. Another possibility, pointed out by V. I. Lenin, is the use of state capitalism as a step toward socialism.

Discussions of capitalism's future in the developing world require full consideration for the most important tendency of the present day--the constant

reduction of capitalism's sphere of influence in world economics and politics and the capitalist order's lack of a historical future.

We had no idea that the compiler of this report would die before its publication. Everyone who was fortunate enough to work with Oleg Vorkunov will remember this industrious and conscientious man whose career in science had just begun and seemed so promising. A severe illness cancelled this promise, and the above report, in which he was striving to give the reader the most accurate account of the opinions of his comrades and colleagues, was his last project. This publication is a worthwhile tribute to his memory.

Discussion participants.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 11.
2. For more detail, see V. A. Yashkin, "The Newly Liberated Countries in the System of World Social Relations," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1980, No 6, p 112.
3. For more detail, see N. Simoniya, "An Inquiry into Capitalism's Future in the Asian Countries," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1979, No 2, pp 17-20.
4. For more about this, see M. A. Cheshkov, "Methodological Problems in the Study of Government: The Type of Social Reproduction and the Social Agent," "Ekonomika razvivayushchikhsya stran: teorii i metody issledovaniya" [The Developing Economies: Research Theory and Methods], Moscow, 1979, pp 324-351.
5. G. I. Mirskiy and V. L. Sheynis, "State Capitalism's Prospects in the Developing Countries," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1979, No 5, pp 203-208.
6. Yu. Ostrovityanov and A. Sterbalova, "The Eastern Social 'Genotype' and the Prospects of National States," NOVYY MIR, 1972, No 12, pp 197-217.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 6.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1985

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CSO: 1807/280

CENTRAL ASIAN EXPERIENCE SEEN VALUABLE FOR DEVELOPING STATES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 120-125

[Report by Yu. M. Il'in on session of Scientific Council of USSR Academy of Sciences on African Affairs in Tashkent on 24-26 May 1984]

[Text] A session was held in Tashkent on 24-26 May 1984 to discuss "The Significance of the First Revolutionary Socioeconomic Reforms in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan (the Experience of the 1920's and 1930's) for the Developing Countries." It was attended by around 100 economists, historians, sociologists, experts on international affairs and geographers representing academy institutes and universities in many union republics.

Calling the session to order, Chairman An. A. Gromyko of the scientific council, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that socioeconomic conditions in several Asian, African and Latin American states are similar to conditions in Central Asia and Kazakhstan prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet Central Asian republics--Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia--and Kazakhstan, which were agrarian and raw material appendages of Russia prior to 1917, achieved colossal successes in their development and became flourishing industrial-agrarian republics within the shortest possible time. This was unprecedented in history.

For the newly liberated countries of Africa and Asia, the experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in socialist construction serves, An. A. Gromyko said, as an effective instrument for the progressive transformation of the young national states' own economic structures. The comprehensive study of this experience in relation to African, Asian and Latin American affairs is of great scientific and practical importance. The socioeconomic reforms in the Soviet East included industrialization, agrarian reform and a cultural revolution, and the region made the transition to socialism without going through the capitalist stage of development. Now these peoples have reached the frontiers of mature socialism, and their constantly enriched socioeconomic experience is of exceptional value to the developing countries.

Session participants were welcomed by Deputy Chairman M. Tursunov of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Reports were presented at a plenary session by Vice President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and Academician E. Yu. Yusupov, Tashkent University Professor M. A. Akhmedova, Director of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute and Academician Sh. T. Tashliyev, Academic Secretary of the Division of Social Sciences of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences and Academician S. A. Radzhabov, and sector heads at the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. V. Smirnov, Ye. A. Tarabrin and L. D. Yablochkov. The speakers concentrated on an analysis of the comparative possibilities for the use of the experience of Central Asian republics in the socialist-oriented African countries and in states developing in the capitalist direction, and on some aspects of the use of the experience of Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in economic and social construction by emerging countries.

The peoples of the Soviet East were assigned a special historic mission: They were the first to implement the optimal method of surmounting the underdevelopment of former colonies and dependent countries and of making the transition to socialism without going through the capitalist stage. The similarity of socioeconomic conditions served as an objective basis for the acceptance and transmission of social experience. A subjective condition for the use of the experience of one nationality by another, on the other hand, was the presence of social forces realizing the value of this experience and capable of employing it in accordance with the specific situation. The use of historical experience in similar socioeconomic conditions helps to accelerate the historical process and prevent reversals and regression in development.

When the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan embarked on the road to socialism, socioeconomic conditions in these republics displayed categorical similarities to other colonies and semicolonies of imperialism, regional similarities to certain groups of countries and specifically historical similarities to neighboring Eastern countries. The decisive role in the development of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was played by the fact that their mother country was Russia, where socialist revolution achieved maturity for the first time. This led to the merger of the national liberation movement with the socialist revolution in Russia. Under the influence of the revolutionary movement, revolutionary forces, especially the local proletariat, took shape in the mother country. Despite the weakness, small size and heterogeneity of the working class, it was precisely this class in the colonial outlying regions that became the leading social force. The struggle of the working class and its allies for a transition to non-capitalist development was headed by the Bolshevik Party and its local organizations, which implemented the party's strategic line under the specific conditions of the colonial outlying regions.

The socioeconomic reforms in Central Asia and Kazakhstan were begun and completed in a historical era differing from the present stage in the developing countries. During the decades separating them, radical political, economic and social changes took place in the world, in many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, considerable experience in socioeconomic reforms and socialist construction was accumulated, the developmental level of productive forces in all economic spheres changed immeasurably and the internationalization of economic relations grew more pronounced. In spite of this, however, Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the 1920's and 1930's had much in common with the developing African and Asian countries in recent decades.

After World War II and the collapse of capitalism's colonial system, the non-capitalist pattern of development and socialist orientation were chosen by the people of several Asian and African countries. In contrast to the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, in these countries non-capitalist development was accomplished, first of all, under the leadership of revolutionary democratic parties rather than under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship and under the leadership of working class vanguard parties and, secondly, without direct economic, political and organizational reliance on countries in which the socialist revolution had triumphed but under the conditions of effective support from socialist states on the international level. General democratic tasks are being performed and the economic, social and political prerequisites for a subsequent transition to socialist construction are being established in these countries.

G. V. Smirnov stressed in his report entitled "A Comparative Analysis of the Conditions and Objectives of Socioeconomic Development in the Soviet East in the 1920's and 1930's and the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa at the Present Time" that the socialist-oriented African and Asian countries differ substantially from one another in terms of levels of economic and social development, the depth to which capitalist production relations have penetrated their economies, their alignment of social and political forces, their governments, some of their ideological theories and the depth of their actual democratic and socioeconomic reforms. They are united primarily by the conscious choice of a political line, the orientation of their social development for the establishment of prerequisites for the transition to the socialist method of production without going through the capitalist stage. Therefore, their policy is designed to counteract, the speaker said, the spontaneous development of capitalist production relations, including the process of their transmission by the centers of developed capitalism.

The developing countries which have chosen the capitalist path are also far from homogeneous (they include the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Pakistan and others). They are united by a policy designed to stimulate the spontaneous development of capitalism. Furthermore, the activities of foreign capital, including the penetration of economies by TNC's, are stimulated in this group of countries as well as private national enterprise.

The largest group of countries in Asia and Africa is made up of states with an economic policy not attesting, for various reason, to any clear-cut developmental orientation.

Despite all of the various patterns of social development in the emerging Asian and African countries, the overwhelming majority of them are now in the transitional stage of formative development--that is, the transition from the multistructured economic base, in which pre-capitalist methods of production coexist with more or less developed capitalist forms, and in some countries with elements of socialist relations, to the prevalence of capitalist or socialist relations. The republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan went through this kind of transitional stage after the October Revolution.

Far from all of the means and methods of solving national development problems in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan can be used, however, in

the developing countries. Socioeconomic reforms in the Eastern Soviet republics were an integral part of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, although they were instituted with a view to local conditions and later than in the majority of other regions in the country.

During the process of economic construction, the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan did not have to appeal for foreign economic and technological assistance (as almost all of the developing countries now have to do) because they were given all-round assistance by the more highly developed regions of the Soviet state.

In spite of these differences, there are certain definite problems in the developing countries today which were solved successfully in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The problems of transforming the economic basis and developing productive forces are indissolubly connected and represent a single group of tasks to surmount economic underdevelopment. The basis for the resolution of these problems was laid in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the 1920's and 1930's, and they are now the main problems in the Asian and African countries. In the majority of young independent states there is a tendency toward increased participation by the national government in the choice and implementation of a national development strategy, economic planning, the mobilization of financial and material resources for capital investments and the regulation of economic affairs with the aid of taxes, credit controls and other instruments of economic policy. The state is also involved in more direct economic activity--the creation of the state sector in various economic spheres.

One of the most complex groups of problems in social development which were solved in the Eastern Soviet republics entailed the institution of agrarian reforms. Just as in today's African and Asian states, in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan the agrarian issue had unique features and was not solved in the same way as in more highly developed regions. Different groups of developing countries are trying to solve these problems in different ways, but in all cases the growth of agricultural production inevitably necessitates the liquidation of pre-capitalist relations in rural areas, the development of commercial exchange between urban and rural areas and the transfer of land to those who cultivate it--that is, essentially the same sequence as in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The mainstream of agricultural development in a number of young countries (Angola, Ethiopia, Burma, Syria and others) consists in various forms of peasant cooperatives. In the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, various forms of collectivization were practiced widely in the 1920's and 1930's. The Communist Party and Soviet Government stopped all attempts to accelerate this process or to force it on the population. For the young national states, the experience in the truly democratic resolution of the agrarian issue is exceptionally valuable, especially in view of the still frequent attempts to resolve it by voluntarist, "ultra-leftist" means.

Industry in the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan was based on socialist principles from the first years of its development. It took shape

as an integral part of the entire industrial complex of the Soviet Union. In G. V. Smirnov's opinion, this approach to the development of industry is hardly applicable at the present time to any developing country in Asia and Africa, especially the African countries with a small population. There is no question, however, that many of its economic and technical elements and specific methods of solving problems in the development of national industry in Central Asia and Kazakhstan can be used in the developing countries.

The establishment of large-scale capital-intensive production in Central Asia and Kazakhstan was accompanied by the maintenance and development of small-scale and cottage industry, including elements of handicrafts, small-scale manufacture and light industry. In the developing countries cottage industry is also widespread and is of definite significance in the resolution of socioeconomic problems.

The use of the Central Asian and Kazakh experience in socioeconomic reforms by developing countries is related to such aspects of their social development as the resolution of ethnic problems, the creation and development of trade unions and other public organizations and the involvement of women in public life. Speakers at the plenary meeting demonstrated that much of the experience in the construction of a new life in the Soviet East could be used in the developing countries after the necessary adaptation despite the significant differences in their specific historical conditions.

Speakers in the discussion group of "Sociopolitical Issues" (co-chaired by L. D. Yablochkov, S. A. Radzhabov and Academician Kh. T. Tursunov of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) described the role of the party and state in the institution of socioeconomic reforms and economic construction, including the organization and methods of work on the local level, the training of national personnel, the eradication of illiteracy, the organization of public education and vocational training, the resolution of employment problems, the formation of a working class, the involvement of middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie in the process of economic construction and the reorganization of social structures, the role of trade unions and other public organizations in the institution of socioeconomic reforms, the influence of ethnic issues and the Islamic factor on the purpose and organization of these reforms, aspects of the class struggle and the methods and means by which feudal kulak and bourgeois elements tried to counteract socioeconomic reforms.

These matters were discussed in reports by Sh. S. Ziyamov (Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan) on "Some Aspects of Party Construction During the Transition to Socialism Without Going Through the Capitalist Stage," A. R. Redzhepov (Turkmen State University) on "Some Distinctive Features of National State Construction in Turkmenistan During the Period of Transition to Socialism," I. Sh. Sharipov (Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences) on "Class Struggle and the Means and Methods of Counteracting Socioeconomic Reforms by Feudal, Kulak and Bourgeois Elements," Corresponding Member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences M. A. Akhunova (History Institute of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Social Bases of the Formation and Development of the Working Class During Uzbekistan's Transition to Socialism Without Going Through the Capitalist

Stage," Corresponding Member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences M. Kh. Asylbekov on "The Formation of the Working Class in the Process of Non-Capitalist Development in Kazakhstan," A. K. Kanimetov (History Institute, Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Role of Soviet Russia in the Training of National Personnel in Kirghizia," L. V. Gentshke (Tashkent State University) on "The Experience in the Establishment and Development of Trade Unions in Central Asia," N. I. Vysotskaya (Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Role of Proletarian Internationalism in the Development of the Central Asian Republics and Today's African States," Academician of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences S. A. Radzhabov on "The Historical Significance of the National State Separation of the Central Asian Republics (1924-1925)," R. A. Ubaydullayeva (Economics Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Establishment of Socioeconomic Prerequisites for the Involvement of Women in National Production in Uzbekistan in the 1920's and 1930's," Kh. T. Tursunov (Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan) on "The Party Leadership of the Development of Socialist Culture," A. I. Abdusametov (Tashkent State University) on "Features of the Secularization of Public Opinion During the Process of Non-Capitalist Development as Illustrated by the Central Asian Experience," Corresponding Member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences A. I. Ishanov on "The Enforcement of the Shari'at in the Courts of Central Asian Republics During the First Years of Soviet Rule," Corresponding Member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences M. B. Baratov (Tashkent State University) on "Distinctive Features of the Dissemination and Establishment of Marxist-Leninist Ideas in Uzbekistan and the Significance of the Experience in This Sphere for the Socialist-Oriented Countries," R. M. Karyyeva (Turkmen branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism) on "Radical Changes in the Image of Central Asian Women as a Result of Socioeconomic Reforms," K. Kh. Khanazarov (Philosophy and Law Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Soviet Regime's First Steps in the Resolution of the National Language Problem in Central Asia (1917-1927)," I. V. Volkova (Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Applicability of the Experience of Soviet Central Asia in the Use of Mass Media for the Achievement of the Political and Economic Autonomy of Developing Countries," O. P. Umurzakov (Philosophy and Law Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Experience in the Formation of a New Socialist Way of Life and the Traditions of the Central Asian Peoples," T. L. Deych (Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences) on "Bourgeois Academics Distort the Central Asian Experience in Socioeconomic Reforms" and others.

The speeches and reports presented in the discussion group on "Socioeconomic Issues" (co-chaired by G. V. Smirnov, Academician of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences T. A. Ashimbayev and Corresponding Member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences A. Kh. Khikmatov) included discussions and analyses of the means and methods of organizing the state sector in the economies of the Central Asian region in the 1920's and 1930's; the nationalization of the principal means of production and its methods, scales and rates; the organization of planning and material and technical supply operations; the experience in water and land reform; the establishment of agricultural cooperatives; the transition from the nomadic to the settled way of life, and difficulties and errors in the creation of agricultural cooperatives; the organization of national economic planning and management; the system of monetary relations

between urban and rural areas, finance and credit policy, pricing policy and wages; the use of private enterprise; the establishment of crafts cooperatives. All of these matters were discussed with a view to the possibility of their implementation in the construction of a new life in the developing countries.

The majority of the abovementioned problems were analyzed in reports by Kh. U. Umarov (Economics Institute, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences) on "Distinctive Features of the Formation of the State Sector Under the Conditions of the Non-Capitalist Development of Previously Backward Regions," T. A. Ashimbayev (Economics Institute, Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Peculiarities and Role of Socialist Industrialization in Kazakhstan During the Transition to Socialism Without Going Through the Capitalist Stage," Corresponding Member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences R. Kh. Aminova (History Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Experience in the Creation of Peasant Cooperatives During the Non-Capitalist Development of Central Asia," M. Moshev (History Institute, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Development of the Simplest Forms of Agricultural Cooperatives in Turkmenistan," D. S. Layliyev (Economics Institute, Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences) on "Agrarian Reform in Kirghizia in the 1920's and 1930's," A. Sakhatmuradov (Turkmen State University) on "Methods and Forms of Land and Water Reform in Turkmenistan and the Possibility of Their Use in the Developing African Countries," G. I. Rubinshteyn (Africa Institute) on "The Soviet East's Foreign Economic Relations in the 1920's and 1930's," Corresponding Member of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences K. K. Orozaliyev (Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia) on "The Experience in the Transition from a Nomadic to a Settled Way of Life in Kirghizia," R. P. Klevakina (History Institute, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Use of Private Enterprise in Industry and Trade in Turkmenistan in the Interests of the Laboring Masses During the Transition to Socialism," V. M. Kuz'mina (History Institute, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Experience in the Transition to Socialism by Craftsmen and Artisans in Turkmenistan and Its Significance for the Developing Countries," A. U. Ul'masov (Tashkent Institute of the National Economy) on "The Use of Commodity and Money Relations in the Regulation of Private Economic Activity During the Transition to Socialism Without Going Through the Capitalist Stage," L. S. Ziyadullayeva (Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan) on "Some Questions About the Significance of the Socialist Experience in the Industrialization of Central Asia," I. B. Blinder (Economics Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Central Asian Experience in the Resolution of Accumulation Problems and Its International Significance," A. Kh. Khikmatov (Economics Institute, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) on "The Investment Policy of the Soviet State in the Central Asian Republics in the 1920's and 1930's," B. D. El'baum (Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan) on "Cooperation by the Peoples of the USSR in the Construction of Socialism in Central Asia," G. D. Dzhamankulova (Frunze Polytechnical Institute) on "Distinctive Features of Socioeconomic Reforms in Kirghizia During the Transition Period" and others.

Ye. A. Tarabrin (Africa Institute) presented a report on "Imperialism's Efforts To Keep the Experience in Revolutionary Reforms in Soviet Socialist

Republics from Spreading to Developing Countries" at the final plenary meeting. He stressed that the policy and ideological expansion of imperialism are keeping the developing countries from comprehending and utilizing the Soviet experience as much as their own philosophical, political, social and other distinctions. Various methods are being employed within the framework of ideological expansion, particularly attempts to falsify the importance of the formation of the USSR and the experience in socialist construction in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The speaker described the idea of so-called "Afrocommunism" as a theory designed for the ideological isolation of the developing countries from the experience in socialist construction in the USSR.

In conclusion, Ye. A. Tarabrin spoke of current objectives in the struggle against the West's ideological expansion in relation to problems discussed at the session.

Summing up the results of this session of the scientific council, An. A. Gromyko stressed that the experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics has a direct relationship to the urgent and pressing problems of young states. This is why it is extremely important to determine precisely which elements of this experience might be used, and in which ways, during the development of African countries and other newly liberated countries.

The applied-science methodological approach to the study of the rich experience in the construction of a new life in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, An. A. Gromyko said, allows the public in the developing states to plan a development strategy and socioeconomic reforms and indicates the specific machinery that might be used for their implementation with a view to the specific conditions of African countries.

It is the duty of Soviet African and Oriental scholars, An. A. Gromyko stressed, not only to seek direct analogies but also to disclose the most important and fundamental premises of practical value in the construction of a new life in the developing countries.

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RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC CONFLICTS REPORTED ON AT ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 126-128

[Report on May 1984 meeting of Scientific Organizational Council of Oriental Studies Institute]

[Text] Reports on "Objectives in the Study of Religious Conflicts" by L. R. Polonskaya and "Objectives in the Study of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts" by A. A. Prazauskas were presented and discussed in May 1984.

The need to study religious conflicts, L. R. Polonskaya said, stems from the impact they have had on the ideological and political struggle during various stages of the historical development of the peoples of the foreign East. Religious conflicts have always aroused the interest of historians and political scientists but they have been the subject of relatively few research projects on the national and international levels (particularly in studies of modern and contemporary periods of history). In addition, little effort has been made to solve many general theoretical problems connected with the choice of common criteria for the assessment of the nature and historical role of these conflicts, and this, in turn, has complicated their assessment (which cannot be uniform) and the discovery of "seats of infection" where such conflicts could break out in the future.

The main objectives in the study of religious conflicts are the following: a) the categorization of conflicts during different stages of historical development; b) the disclosure of the causes of contemporary religious conflicts; c) the determination of the nature and possible methods of conflict resolution; d) the description of religious conflicts; e) the definition of stages in the development of each conflict (maturation, growth, decline); f) the determination of the given conflict's place in the overall ideological and political situation. Each of these objectives presupposes a group of projects. The categorization of conflicts will require the use of historical, social-class, ethnic and religious criteria. The coexistence of conflicts stemming from different historical eras is characteristic of the present time. These are conflicts reflecting the power struggle between feudal and tribal groups in a religious form, the struggle between competing segments of the bourgeoisie, conflicts engendered by antifeudal and anticapitalist demonstrations taking religious forms, ethnic religious conflicts and pseudonational conflicts.

In terms of form, religious conflicts can be conflicts between members of different religions (Islam and Hinduism or Buddhism and Christianity), between orthodox and unorthodox currents (the supporters of the orthodox shari'a and the supporters of so-called "popular" Islam--Sufism-Tarrikat) and between different movements and sects (Sunnite-Shiite conflicts in Islam, conflicts between the devotees of Mahayana and Hinayana in Buddhism, etc.). There are significant differences between conflicts in multireligious countries (communalism in India, religious conflicts in Lebanon, etc.) and countries with one religion (between Sunnites and Shiites in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, etc.), as well as conflicts on the international level (between Islam and Zionism in the Middle East conflict).

The main causes of contemporary religious conflicts can be categorized as economic (with a view to the distinctive features of peripheral capitalist development), political (the policy of imperialist powers and the domestic political situation in specific countries and regional clashes) and cultural (Eastocentrism, Westocentrism, etc.).

The nature and means of the resolution of various religious conflicts depend primarily on the concrete situation in the country or region. The most acute religious conflicts of the present time include the conflicts between Muslims and Christians (in Cyprus, for example), between Sunnites and Shiites and between Islam and Zionism.

In his report, A. A. Prazauskas noted that inter-ethnic conflicts represent one of the most pressing problems in the sociopolitical development of poly-ethnic states in the foreign East. This is the reason for the need for thorough investigations of this problem with the use of a comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach, particularly the procedures and methods of sociology, political science, governmental affairs and sociolinguistics. In the opinion of the speaker, the disclosure of the socioeconomic causes of inter-ethnic conflicts must be accompanied by serious studies of the interaction and interdependence of the development of the ethnic group, the political process and the national policy of the ruling group in the countries in question.

The speaker feels that the study of the historical causes of inter-ethnic conflicts first requires examinations of the nature of inter-ethnic relations during the colonial period, the level of political, economic and social integration, the role of the national liberation movement as a factor of ethnic integration and the processes of the ethnic consolidation and political mobilization of minorities.

The objective analysis of the causes of the escalation of post-colonial inter-ethnic conflicts is particularly important. The speaker listed the most common causes, including the intense efforts to "build a nation," the escalation of friction between the local (ethnolocal) bourgeoisie and the dominant group, the accelerated sociopolitical mobilization of minorities under the influence of internal and external factors and the general increase in social tension.

A. A. Prazauskas expressed the opinion that the writers of works on ethnic problems have not paid enough attention to the disclosure of the main aspects

of the ethnic policy of ruling circles, the means and methods of solving inter-ethnic conflicts, particularly territorial and cultural autonomy, the socioeconomic development of minority-populated outlying districts, the use of methods of social and political co-option of the ethnolocal elite in the dominant group by ruling circles, and the nature and scales of repressive actions taken by ruling circles in conflict situations.

The analysis of inter-ethnic conflicts is impossible without the categorization of ethnosocial movements. The speaker noted that Soviet researchers now distinguish only between bourgeois, feudal-separatist and tribal movements and suggested a more precise set of categories, including the following types of ethnosocial movements: separatist, autonomous, ethnoreligious, ethno-linguistic, anti-immigrant and irredentist.

A. I. Chicherov, L. B. Nikol'skiy, G. G. Kotovskiy, V. I. Maksimenko, N. I. Prigarina, M. N. Yegorova and others took part in the discussion following the reports. Speakers noted that ethnic and religious factors are having a perceptible effect on political processes in virtually all of the developing Eastern countries and on international relations in Asia.

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CONFERENCE ON PRESENT, FUTURE OF JAPAN'S SCI-TECH PROGRESS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 128-129

[Report on conference on scientific and technical progress in Japan in Oriental Studies Institute on 7, 8 June 1984]

[Text] A scientific conference on "Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan--Distinctive Features of the Present Stage, Achievements, Problems and Prospects" was held in the institute on 7 and 8 June 1984. The broad topic was dictated by the present importance of comprehensive and detailed analyses of the current stage of the technological revolution and the need to discover and describe its main problems and establish their relationship to other problems studied by researchers of Japanese affairs. The conference was attended by scholars from academic institutes and specialists from some sectorial institutions.

The aims and objectives of the conference were explained by Professor I. A. Latyshev, head of the Department of Japanese Affairs. Noting the success of the department's seminar on "The Current Stage of the Technological Revolution and Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan," he reported on the publication of collected articles on aspects of the technological revolution in Japan, written by researchers from the economic sector of the Department of Japanese Affairs and researchers from other organizations.

General features and strategies of scientific and technical progress were discussed in the following reports: "The Current Stage of Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan" by Yu. D. Denisov, "Soviet Japanese Scholars on Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan" by V. A. Popov and "The Conceptual Approach to Problems in Scientific and Technical Progress in Japan" by O. S. Novikov. The speakers assessed the main fields of scientific and technical progress in Japan, its scientific and technical potential and scientific and technical policy and the distinctive features of the approach of state and private organizations to problems in scientific and technical progress and mentioned the most significant works by Soviet Japanese scholars in various fields of research with regard to scientific and technical progress in Japan. Speeches were presented by A. I. Kravtsevich, Ye. L. Leont'yeva, S. K. Ignatushchenko, A. Yu. Lysenko, N. Yu. Shevchenko, A. B. Potskhveriya and others.

The effective use of scientific and technical achievements has given Japanese monopolies the ability to continuously develop the material base of production, augment labor productivity, expand the product assortment and improve product quality. At the present time these processes are concentrated primarily in fields of production with higher levels of scientific input and added value. Problems in the improvement of the production system were discussed in detail in I. P. Lebedeva's report on "The Structural Reorganization of Japanese Industry" and in numerous reports on the latest developments in specific fields, such as electronics (A. A. Dmitriyev), the machine tool industry (G. P. Blokin), the automotive industry (Ye. B. Paskhin), ferrous metallurgy (N. I. Perlov), the chemical industry (G. V. Mel'nikov) and others, as well as in agriculture (S. B. Markaryan) and transportation (V. S. Pobozh'yev). Speakers discussed some of the new elements of Japanese production organization (Ye. A. Staroboytov), the distinctive features of Japanese management (G. G. Pirogov), the role of the infrastructure in national production during the current stage of scientific and technical progress (V. V. Vlasov) and other matters pertaining to the development of the Japanese production system.

The important problem of resources--raw material, energy and labor--was discussed in the reports on "Japan's Current Raw Material Crisis" by I. S. Tikhotskaya, "Changes in the Use of Fuel and Energy Resources in Japan in Comparison to Other Capitalist Centers" by A. S. Beschastnov and "The Problem of the More Efficient Use of Manpower at Japanese Enterprises During the Current Stage of Scientific and Technical Progress" by T. N. Matrusova and in V. N. Dotsenko's discussion of efforts to use energy more efficiently in Japan and of the policy of reducing the dependence on imported oil, particularly specific energy conservation methods. Other problems of this nature were also discussed in relation to raw material consumption. They are being solved in Japan through the development of less material-intensive branches, the intensive use of waste products and the development of substitutes for scarce materials. Efforts to intensify the use of labor resources, illustrated with examples from the practices of several machine-building firms, aroused considerable interest. For example, some forms and methods of training and of personnel transfers for the purpose of standardizing and facilitating vocational guidance were discussed in detail, as well as various means of reorganizing the production process, particularly those with the aim of broadening the professional functions of workers to reduce job monotony and thereby augment productivity.

V. B. Ramzes discussed the pertinent and complex issue of the interaction of scientific and technical progress with the final phase of the reproductive process--consumption. Attempts at state-monopolist economic regulation through the organization of additional consumer demand for products developed on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements were analyzed in S. V. Braginskiy's report.

The social aspects of scientific and technical progress were the subject of Yu. D. Kuznetsov's report on "The Influence of Scientific and Technical Progress on the Class Structure of Japanese Society." His analysis of the changes engendered by the technological revolution in the individual's

professional career served as a basis for an examination of the process of the social-class polarization of capitalist society. The speaker remarked in particular that the Japanese working class of the 1980's already represents two-thirds of the employed population and that this has perceptibly strengthened its leading role in public life. The structure of the working class, with the industrial proletariat representing over 40 percent and office workers representing around one-fourth of the class, was examined in detail. The rapid growth of the part of the proletariat consisting of hired labor engaged in mental work, particularly professional technical specialists, was noted.

Speakers cited numerous data on the social implications of the widespread use of computers and automatic production equipment (Ya. P. Vystavkin, I. M. Pirogova, L. P. Arskaya, A. I. Gladchenkov and others).

The conference made a definite contribution to the study of the current stage of scientific and technical progress, and not only in Japan but in other capitalist countries as well. The methodology of studying today's productive forces was enriched. Many interesting facts about the Japanese economic, technical and administrative experience, facts of practical interest to the USSR national economy, were reported at the conference.

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FREE TRADE ZONES DISCUSSED AT ASIAN TRADE UNION MEETING

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 130-132

[Report by A. N. Kamenskiy and N. N. Tsvetkova on Third Regional Asian Trade Union Conference on 2 September 1984]

[Text] The Third Regional Asian Conference of the Trade Unions of Workers in the Textile, Garment, Leather and Footwear Industries and Metalworkers' Unions was held on 2 September 1984. The conference was organized by the international associations of these unions with the assistance of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). The first conference (in Tagaytay, Philippines, in 1981) and the second (Berlin, 1982), organized by the International Association of Textile Workers Unions, discussed the struggle of laborers in the Asian countries against the authoritarian practices of transnational corporations. The topic of the third regional conference was the pertinent and little-researched issue of "Union Rights and the Status of Labor in Free Export Zones." Free export zones (FEZ) began to be established in the developing Asian countries in the 1960's for the purpose of attracting foreign investments into export-oriented and essentially labor-intensive branches of the processing industry. The FEZ represents a special territory allocated by the host country for duty-free imports of raw materials and equipment for industrial enterprises, with few if any currency restrictions and the guaranteed full or majority ownership of companies by foreign capital. Foreign investors in free export zones not only enjoy substantial tax benefits but can also frequently count on financial assistance from the host country; the necessary infrastructure is established for them and their exports are exempt from duties. These zones are also often called free industrial zones, free customs zones, free trade zones and so forth. They have become a sphere of active TNC penetration of the developing economies.

The conference was attended by representatives of the leadership of national unions in the developing Asian countries and in Japan and New Zealand, the international associations of trade unions, the WFTU and the ILO and representatives of the Soviet scientific community. The conference was called to order by the chairman of the coordinating committee, Secretary General R. Kapa of the National Textile and Garment Workers' Union of the Philippines, who noted the importance of coordinated action by trade unions for the resolution of complex problems arising in connection with the establishment and

functioning of FEZ's in Asia. P. Bailey (ILO) stressed that the recommendations of the 1977 ILO tripartite declaration of principles with regard to multinational corporations and social policy were not binding. He expressed the ILO's view that the more extensive use of national legislation is needed in FEZ's in developing countries. In particular, the ILO approved a number of specific recommendations with regard to labor legislation on the interests of FEZ workers, women's labor, the length of the work day and other matters. Bailey noted that wages at the enterprises of TNC's in FEZ's are lower than sectorial national averages.

Secretary General of the All-India Federation of Textile Workers B. Joshi reported that, according to the data of this union, the FEZ is not a decisive factor in the augmentation of employment. Virtually all labor safety provisions listed in ILO conventions are violated in the FEZ. Joshi concluded that the FEZ represents a negative development in India and, noting the inability of the ILO to control working conditions in these zones, said it would be best for national unions to take charge of these matters. S. Bhattacharia (All-India Federation of Jute Workers) agreed with him.

V. G. Gel'bras (Institute of the International Workers Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences) described the free trade zones as zones for the super-exploitation of workers. The FEZ in Asia, which operates on the principle of "a state within a state," is having an adverse effect on the socioeconomic development of Asian countries, particularly the use of child labor and of obsolete technology, the reduction of export revenues due to the need to repay financial debts to foreign capital, the absence of extensive vocational training for workers and the reduction of the social mobility of the working class in Asian countries. The speaker noted that the FEZ gives rise to a special form of competition among workers and serves TNC's as a strong instrument of economic expansion in emerging countries.

S. Shiobara (Japan) discussed the scales and methods of Japanese capital's penetration of Southeast Asian FEZ's. In her opinion, free trade zones often serve as avenues for the penetration of developing economies by foreign capital on the pretext of promoting their industrialization. R. Sivalingam (Malaysia) commented that a characteristic feature of foreign enterprises in the FEZ's is the lack of participation by national personnel in their management. National governments discourage FEZ workers from going on strike or organizing in unions. Chairman Vicente Bate of the National Association of Trade Unions of the Philippines described the difficult conditions of work at FEZ enterprises in the Philippines.

A. N. Kamenskiy (USSR) proposed that the use of hired labor in the FEZ be viewed as a specific form of manpower migration, or the "internal export" of manpower. In his opinion, the hiring of manpower in the FEZ and international migration are supposed to alleviate unemployment and increase foreign currency receipts, but it must be said that the states exporting manpower are demanding intergovernmental compensation for the loss of this manpower and usually receive financial subsidies from the manpower importers for construction projects in the social infrastructure, which could be utilized in relation to hired labor in the FEZ to limit the unrestricted influence of TNC's and, what

is most important, to improve working conditions in these countries. N. A. Markov (USSR) described the economic aspects of FEZ operations. When the developing countries establish these zones, he said, they are pursuing the following goals: increased currency receipts, increased employment, increased foreign investments, higher manpower skills and the integration of the FEZ with the national economy. According to his estimates, the disadvantages of the FEZ outweigh its advantages. The operations of TNC's in these zones do not aid in the attainment of the goals of developing countries. For example, the increase in export revenues is accompanied by increased expenditures on imports and the transfer of TNC profits, including their covert transfer by means of monopoly transfer prices.

A. Herrero (International Association of Textile Workers) discussed the international solidarity of workers in light industry, the concerted actions of the workers of the Bata TNC (Canada) in the industrially developed capitalist and developing countries and union activity to coordinate these actions. Herrero noted that the TNC's are engaged in smuggling as well as in official exports.

N. N. Tsvetkova (USSR) analyzed the social aspects of TNC expansion in the FEZ's. In the developing world as a whole, the FEZ's have contributed little to employment: They employ around 1 million people, whereas the number of unemployed and partially employed in the developing countries exceeds 300 million (according to data for the end of the 1970's). In some Asian countries, however, FEZ workers represent a large segment of the proletariat: At the end of the 1970's there were 105,000 in the processing industry in Singapore (more than 40 percent of all hired manpower) and 56,000 in Malaysia (around 20 percent of the total). The FEZ is distinguished by a high level of personnel turnover (convenient for the TNC's because it makes labor cheaper), job instability (particularly during periods of world economic crisis) and the use of semiskilled labor. N. N. Tsvetkova noted that excessive benefits should not be used to attract TNC's, particularly the restriction or prohibition of unions in the FEZ. V. I. Goshchinskiy (International Organization of Metalworkers' Unions) and A. Yu. Kolmakov (International Association of Textile Workers' Unions) described TNC operations in the FEZ as activity based on the superexploitation of labor. A. P. Davydov (WFTU) said that the issue of FEZ's in Asia is of great importance to the WFTU and will be discussed at the regional Asian trade union conference in New Delhi (February 1985).

A resolution passed at the conference said that free export zones do not help to solve employment problems and stated that they are distinguished by low wages, a lack of respect for the rights of trade unions, violations of ILO conventions and excessive benefits for TNC's. In general, the takeover of these zones by TNC's poses a threat to the region.

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CSO: 1807/280

BOOK ON PACIFIC BASIN REGIONALISM REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 7 Jan 85) pp 179-183

[Review by A. Ye. Granovskiy of book "Tikhookeanskiy regionalizm: kontseptsii i real'nost'" [Pacific Regionalism: Theory and Reality], edited by V. I. Ivanov and K. V. Malakhovskiy, compiled by S. I. Verbitskiy, V. A. Vrevskiy, V. I. Ivanov, S. L. Kulidzhanov, V. P. Lukin, V. P. Nikolayev, A. B. Parkanskiy and A. Yu. Suchkov, Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry izd-va Nauka, 1983, 262 pages]

[Text] The subject of this review occupies a special place among published Soviet works on integrative processes in the world capitalist economy, and this is due primarily to the specific nature of the object of research. First of all, it deals with the integrative unification which is essentially in the initial stage of its establishment and has not taken any specific international legal forms as yet. In this sense, the book is clearly geared to the future--to an analysis of the interaction of objective processes of production internationalization in the Pacific region and the extremely contradictory centrifugal and centripetal political forces mediating this process, and to the interrelated study of economic and political realities and the analytical models of the "Pacific community," which certainly do not reflect them uniformly. Secondly, the object of research is a vast region (or even a "super-region") producing over 45 percent of the GDP of the non-socialist world (p 10), containing two of the three main centers of power in the world capitalist economy and including the qualitatively diverse economies of developed capitalist and developing countries, the interaction of which is still "quite conflict-ridden" (p 33). The Pacific region is a representative model of the world capitalist economy as a whole, and for this reason the book under review will be of indisputable interest to experts on regional and national affairs and to researchers of global economic and political issues. Thirdly, the economic factors of regional relations in the Pacific basin are closely related (perhaps to an even greater extent than in Western Europe) to factors of military policy, related so closely that it is often difficult to say which of these groups of factors has the decisive effect on various facets of "Pacific regionalism." The analysis of the dialectical interaction of these two aspects of regionalism is, in my opinion, one of the indisputable merits of this work.

At the same time, the very idea of regional cooperation, according to the authors, was engendered by the objective tendency toward the economic convergence of countries in the region, the development of elements of integration in economic relations between the United States and Japan, Japan and Australia, Japan and the ASEAN and Australia and the ASEAN, competition from Western Europe, the desire to stabilize relations between developed capitalist and developing countries and the increased activity of transnational corporations (p 5). It is quite indicative that the tendency toward intra-regional division of labor is becoming established "without any kind of organizational, institutional and legal frameworks or multilateral agreements" (p 19). Furthermore, the extent of the regionalization of economic ties in the Pacific basin is comparable to the situation in the EEC countries, where this process rests on a strong system of international state-monopolist regulation (pp 19, 20).

It seems that the authors' qualitative assessment of data on the development of interregional trade is somewhat exaggerated. If the region accounts, as mentioned above, for over 45 percent of the non-socialist world's GDP, there is nothing amazing about the fact that intraregional trade accounted for 49 percent of the exports of Pacific countries in 1980 and 47 percent of their imports (pp 14-15). More attention should also have been given to the slightly "diminished tendency toward regionalization" in the 1970's and early 1980's (pp 19-20). In the 1970's and 1980's the proportion accounted for by intraregional trade in the exports of Pacific countries decreased from 55.1 percent to 49.1 percent, and the figure for imports decreased from 56.5 to 47 percent (pp 14-15). It is possible that this was not wholly due to the "changing proportions of international exchange as a result of the rising prices of oil and petroleum products" (p 19).

The authors describe the reinforcement of international division of labor in the region, reveal its distinctive features and describe the uneven internationalization of the production of various commodities. "To a great extent, the regionalization of foreign trade relations is based on the production and use of mineral and agricultural raw materials" (p 25). The high percentage of raw materials, foodstuffs and semimanufactured goods in regional trade reflects the unique nature of international division of labor in this part of the world economy (p 27). Another area of production internationalization is connected with the new science-intensive branches of industry, especially electronics.

The authors reveal the interconnection between the reinforcement of international division of labor in the region on the basis of fairly rapid economic development and the transformation of the West Pacific into "one of the most economically dynamic parts of the world" (p 10). In my opinion, the intensification of developmental disparities and the reduction of the United States' relative economic strength could play a definite role in this process. Between 1960 and 1978 the U.S. and Canadian share of the GDP of non-socialist countries decreased from 45 percent to 28.7 percent, while the share of other countries in the region rose from 7.6 to 17.6 percent. Furthermore, Japan alone accounted for 95 percent of this increase (p 12).

The dialectics of the relationship between centrifugal and centripetal forces in regional development are analyzed well in Chapter 2. The increased tension in the relations between developed capitalist and developing countries in the Pacific basin is, on the one hand, "seriously impeding any kind of unifying economic processes" and, on the other, "stimulating the coordination of the policy of the developed 'big five'" (United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) in relations with developing countries (p 34).

The authors' system for the classification of conflicts between developed capitalist countries in the Pacific region is of indisputable interest. According to the authors, these conflicts can be viewed "on three levels": in bilateral relations between the United States and Japan, in relations between the senior partners of the developed "big five" (United States and Japan) and the junior partners, and in the competition by all developed capitalist countries (especially the United States and Japan) for influence in the West Pacific (p 34). It must be said that the descriptions of these three levels of conflict in the book are not equally complete. Whereas U.S.-Japanese relations and the struggle by developed capitalist countries for the consolidation of their influence in developing Pacific states are analyzed in great detail, the "second level" of conflict (with the exception of Australian-Japanese conflicts) has unfortunately been virtually ignored by the authors.

The authors offer conclusive proof that although the intense internationalization of production in the region was originally of some economic benefit to the developing countries, it also created disparities in economic development and caused the relative deterioration of the foreign economic position of developing countries (p 39). The authors cite extremely interesting calculations to prove that the so-called new industrial countries and territories (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) are vigorously supplanting Japan in exports of the products of light industry (p 40). In my opinion, however, these calculations are not enough for the conclusion that the "new industrial countries" have assumed the role "played by Japan in regional division of labor in the 1960's" (p 40). This role cannot be confined to changes in the commodity structure of foreign trade: It also depends on the flow of capital.

An analysis of the evolution of ideas about the "Pacific community" (Chapter 3) allowed the authors to discern four main causes of "perceptible changes" in these ideas: the increased economic influence of developing countries, the more pronounced conflicts between developed capitalist countries, the more extensive involvement of developing countries in international capitalist division of labor and the intensification of structural crises in the world capitalist economy. The authors make the interesting observation that the efforts to create the "Pacific community" were more vigorous each time serious economic difficulties arose in the developed capitalist countries of the region" (p 50).

Accurately underscoring the need to take the politico-military situation in the Pacific region into account for a correct assessment of changes in economic relations and the overall prospects of regional development, the

authors have devoted a special section of the book to this topic, considerably enriching the reader's understanding of the driving forces of Pacific regionalism. They remark that "there is still not enough reason to assume that the economic convergence of countries in the region is being accompanied by political and military convergence of comparable scales and rates" (p 56). At the same time, under the conditions of intensified militarism in the foreign policy of the United States and its Pacific allies, "some Pacific countries are having doubts about various strategic interpretations of the tendency toward stronger economic interrelations within the region and the use of this tendency to consolidate forces opposing the Soviet Union and socialism" (p 56). The complex group of politico-military relations in the Pacific basin gave rise to extremely difficult format problems for the authors. Whereas the sections of the book dealing with the militarist policy of the United States and Japan in the region (chapters 5, 6) and the politico-military relations of ASEAN countries (Chapter 7) represent an unqualified success, the general section on the arms race in the region (Chapter 4) is not, in my opinion, a complete success.

The most interesting sections of the book include the chapters on the evolution of the position taken by the main developed capitalist countries in the region on problems in regional cooperation. The authors distinguish between three stages in the development of U.S. strategy in the Pacific region. The first stage, which lasted until the end of the 1960's, consisted in the creation of additional bridgeheads for the implementation of the doctrine of the "containment of communism" (p 85), the second stage (late 1960's to late 1970's) "resulted from the failure of the aggression in Vietnam and the 'Vietnam syndrome' and was distinguished by U.S. efforts to 'control' the profound internal changes taking place in regions which were recently targets of American neocolonial policy" (p 87), and the third stage (since the end of the 1970's) is related to the transition to the planning of U.S. Asian and Pacific policy on a regional basis, the enhancement of the Pacific basin's role in U.S. foreign policy and the intensification of efforts to establish a system of politico-military ties in the region (p 88). The analysis of the interconnection between U.S. Pacific policy and the increased disparities in U.S. economic development is quite interesting, particularly the discussion of the quicker economic growth of Pacific states, the diversification of the sectorial structure of their economies and the enhancement of their role in U.S. foreign trade (pp 91-94).

The interaction of internal reproductive factors and foreign economic conditions is examined even more closely in the analysis of Japan's position on problems in regional cooperation (Chapter 9). The authors remark that, "for Japan, the plans to create a 'Pacific community' represent a long-range program for the maintenance of the conditions...promoting Japan's economic development in the postwar years and strengthening its position in the world" (p 113). The authors list the most important of these conditions, including access to sources of energy, crude minerals and foodstuffs and a stable system of "free trade." The authors offer conclusive proof of the stronger economic interdependence of Japan and developing countries in the region and reveal the asymmetrical, uneven nature of this interdependence. The analysis of the dialectical interaction of the increasing interdependence

of national production in the United States and Japan and the exacerbation of economic conflicts between them on a qualitatively new basis (Chapter 10) is an indisputable success. The authors present a detailed analysis of such aspects of inter-imperialist conflicts between the United States and Japan as the broader expansionism of Japanese automobile and metallurgical monopolies in the American market and the markets of third countries, the export of American agricultural goods to Japan and the development of conflicts in modern science-intensive branches long regarded as a U.S. monopoly. "The basis of American-Japanese conflicts and economic competition in the Pacific region is the relative decline of American economic strength in the postwar period, particularly in comparison to Japan," the authors note (p 133).

Whereas Japan's position on economic cooperation with the countries of the Pacific basin, especially American-Japanese economic relations, has already been elucidated in Soviet literature, the authors have essentially brought up a new and important subject in their analysis of Australia's role in the region and of its regional policy. Their discussion of the factors affecting Australian regional policy is of great interest, particularly such factors as "fundamental changes in the geography of foreign trade" in connection with the decrease in the share of Great Britain and other European countries from 60 percent in 1950 to 22 percent in 1977 (p 140) and industrialization in the developing countries of the region, especially the "new industrial countries" (pp 142-144). In my opinion, the authors draw an extremely important conclusion about the "indefinite" prospects of Australia's inclusion in the system of international division of labor in light of the fact that the two sectors of the Australian economy capable of competing in world markets are agriculture and the extractive industry, which account for only 10 percent of all the jobs in the country (p 146).

In their analysis of the role of developing countries in the regional system of economic ties in the Pacific basin, the authors encountered the extremely difficult problem of the far from equal elucidation of various aspects of this topic in Soviet and foreign literature. Whereas the authors essentially embarked on virgin territory in their analysis of the foreign economic ties of the littoral states of Oceania (Chapter 15) and, to some degree, the "new industrial states" (Chapter 16), they could rely on a quite extensive body of literature on matters pertaining to economic cooperation within the ASEAN framework and the relations of ASEAN countries with third countries. It is not surprising that the first two chapters mentioned above are the most interesting, although there is a great deal of new information in the section on the ASEAN, particularly about relations between countries belonging to this organization and about the idea of the "Pacific community" (pp 180-185).

It seems to me that the authors have conclusively demonstrated the "inter-mediate" position the "new industrial countries" occupy between developed capitalist and developing countries in the Pacific region. Although these countries and territories are still objects of exploitation within the world capitalist economy, they are playing an increasingly independent economic role in the region on the strength of their growing economic power (p 186). The authors also draw the interesting conclusion that, "in the future, as structural changes take place in the Taiwan economy, especially in industry, its position could become stronger in relation to developing countries in

the region and even to developed countries, and Taiwan could become a regional 'sub-imperialist center'" (p 199). The authors present a detailed analysis of the causes of the relatively rapid diversification of the sectorial structure of production and exports in the "new industrial states" and describe the role of the flow of foreign private investments, especially those connected with the pro-imperialist policy of these countries and territories.

A fuller assessment of the future role of the "new industrial countries" would probably, however, require a more detailed explanation of the degree to which changes in reproduction patterns were engendered by the establishment of a national bourgeoisie or by the influence of TNC's in their economies. Besides this, the role of these countries and territories in the region could be influenced considerably by the intensification of so-called neomercantilism in the developed capitalist countries, which might be more than just a temporary result of the world economic crisis of the early 1980's.

The authors present a detailed analysis of the reasons for the developed capitalist countries' increased interest in the exploitation of the natural resources of Oceania and state that "the United States, Australia and New Zealand, as ANZUS allies, are making every effort to retain military control over the islands in the Southwest Pacific" (p 218). They also analyze the activities of such subregional organizations as the South Pacific Commission and the South Pacific Forum. They draw the interesting conclusion that the activities of these organizations reflect two conflicting tendencies: On the one hand, the desire of littoral states to unite their economic and political efforts to reduce their dependence on their former mother countries and, on the other, the attempts of Australia and New Zealand to make use of this unification to consolidate their own position in the region (p 220).

The final section of the book describes the Soviet Union's role in regional economic ties in the Pacific basin. The authors discuss the equal and mutually beneficial nature of Soviet commercial and economic cooperation with countries in the region and describe new promising areas of this kind of cooperation, including regional forms. They also reveal the significance of Soviet proposals regarding the establishment of an atmosphere of trust, the improvement of the political climate in the Far East and the consolidation of peace and security throughout the Pacific region.

In general, the subject of this review is a professionally written, useful study of socioeconomic and political affairs in the Pacific countries. It corroborates the authors' statement that "Soviet researchers view the economic convergence of Pacific countries as an objective and natural process, but they are also aware of all of the complexity and ambiguity of factors impeding broader regional cooperation" (p 245).

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